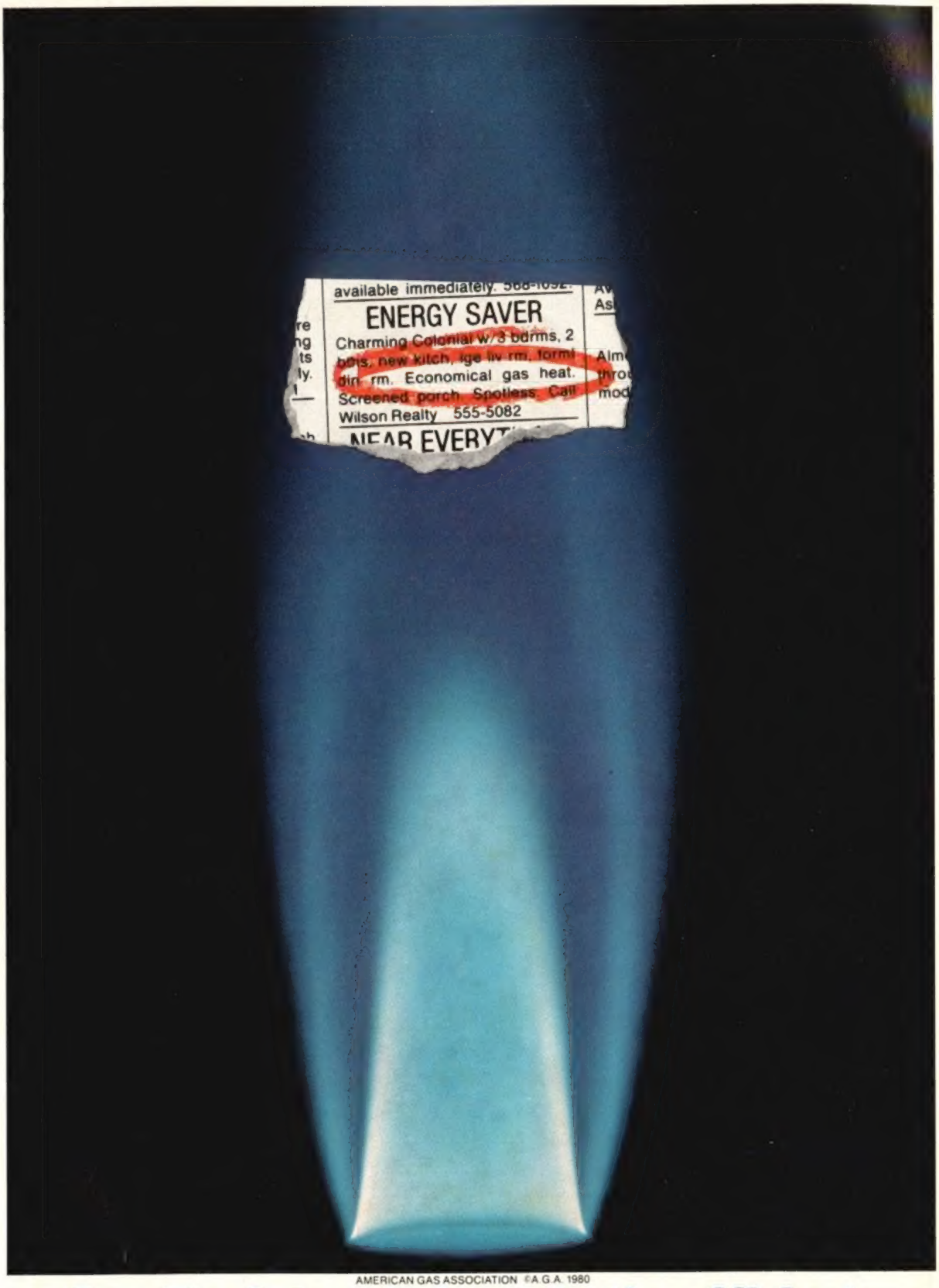
SEPTEMBER 28, 1981
$1.50
TIME
THE BIG FIGHT
Sugar Punches Out
The Hit Man
WE, THE JURY
That Irksome,
Boring,
Vital,
Rewarding
Experience
FOLON



AMERICAN GAS ASSOCIATION ©A.G.A. 1980

Gas: The future belongs to the efficient.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1981 Vol. 118 No. 13 **TIME** THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

In spite of its flaws, the American judicial system remains a truly democratic institution, touching the lives of citizens in every walk of life—including journalists. For Reporter-Researcher Alain Sanders, who has a law degree from Columbia University Law School, the call to jury duty came at a particularly inopportune, if apt, moment. Sanders was called by both the New York State and federal courts while in the midst of checking this week's cover story on the U.S. jury system. A former New York City attorney, Sanders claimed an exemption on the grounds that he was actively engaged in reporting and researching the law, even though the exclusion clause technically applies only to practicing lawyers. Says Sanders: "I would love to have served, but as a lawyer and journalist I would probably never have been allowed to sit on a jury. If they accept my excuse—as it seems they have—I doubt I'll ever be asked again."

Friedrich and Sanders

Washington Correspondent Evan Thomas found that his own background in law was a definite asset when interviewing lawyers and jurors in the capital. Thomas, who got his law degree from the University of Virginia and wrote TIME's Law section from 1978 to 1979, was struck as he observed a local murder trial by "how emotionally racking jury duty can be for those who serve. One woman juror on the case burst into tears when it was all over." Correspondent Jay Branegan, who logged four years as a court reporter in Illinois before joining TIME in June, visited those at the other end of a jury's guilty verdict—convicts in some of the state's toughest prisons. Correspondent Barbara Dolan, who spoke with jurors, lawyers and judges at the New York Supreme Court in Manhattan, was impressed with jurors' commitment to justice: "With a few exceptions, they seem to work very hard, and most lawyers and judges seem to accept their verdicts. Nobody wants to think they have made a mistake."

Senior Writer Otto Friedrich, who wrote the story, is also well acquainted with the workings of the law. Friedrich edited TIME's Law section from 1971 to 1973 and from 1975 to 1978, and wrote about politics and the law for last February's American Renewal issue. Says he: "Trial by jury is perhaps the only time when ordinary citizens are given the intimate details of a person's life—and then given the authority to make a binding judgment." Adds Sanders: "Most law cases are basically a matter of simple common sense. The truth is that most people can make those common-sense judgments just as well as lawyers and judges."

John a. Meyer

Index

Cover: Illustration by Jean-Michel Folon

44
Cover: Three million innocent Americans are summoned to court every year to be interrogated, kept waiting, often sequestered. Jury service needs reform, but many victims find it a rewarding experience. *See* LAW.

18
Nation: Reagan warns of "blood, sweat and tears" over new budget cuts. ▸ To taxpayers, a good harvest means bad news. ▸ Haig and Gromyko at the U.N. ▸ The Justice Department is Reagan's right arm of the law.

68
Big Fight: Sugar Ray Leonard shows Tommy ("Hit Man") Hearns he can hit, man, though Hearns looks pretty sweet himself. When it's over, Leonard is the champ—and $10 million richer. *See* SPORT.

34
World: British politics are in turmoil, right and left. ▸ The Soviets talk tougher to the Poles. ▸ Costa Rica: paradise lost.

58
Religion Egypt's Copts regroup after Sadat's crackdown and their patriarch's banishment. ▸ Pope John Paul exalts work.

62
Press Major changes rock the networks as David Brinkley moves to ABC and nightly news shows may grow to one hour.

63
Education Business grants to colleges swell research budgets—and bring headaches. ▸ A new weekly chronicles lower education.

64
Video Every day 12 million viewers watch *General Hospital*, the most lascivious daytime show available without a prescription.

65
Environment High in the Andes of Peru, archaeologists are putting an Inca canal system to use for the first time in 500 years.

70
Economy & Business A new air-fare price war breaks out. ▸ France plans to nationalize its top 36 private banks. ▸ Brinkley beer.

78
Science A book on future evolution describes odd creatures that may inherit the earth. ▸ The telltale jawbone of a "new" mammal.

81
Books Why psychoanalysis is the impossible profession. ▸ A valedictory collection shows why Ogden Nash/ is worth the cash.

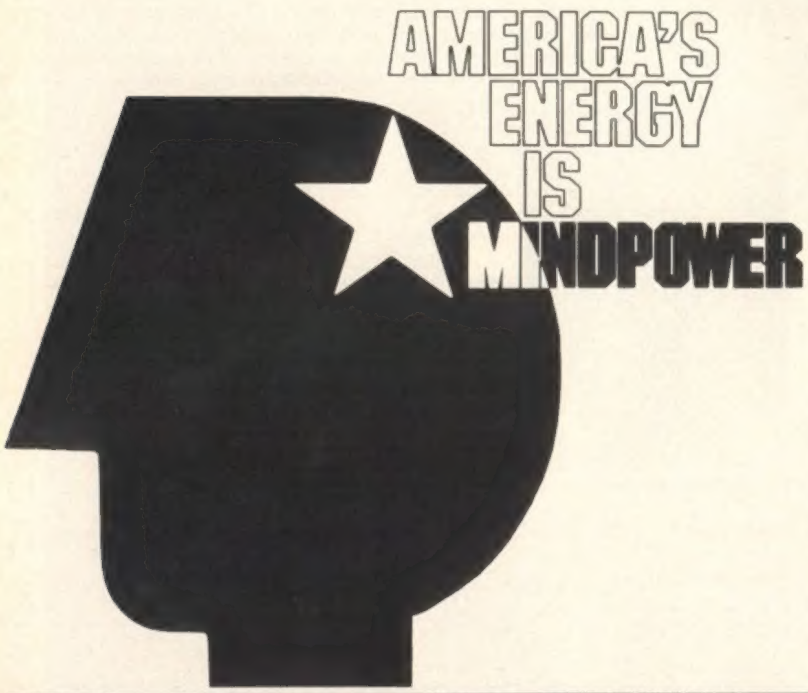
87
Cinema *The Mystery of Oberwald*—Antonioni's excursion in technique. ▸ *Raggedy Man*—Spacek as a switchboard operator.

93
Essay There will be hazards ahead for all if the New Right succeeds in its multibill attack on the authority of federal courts.

6 Letters
16 American Scene
67 People
79 Medicine
94 Milestones

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly at the subscription price of $36 per year, by Time Inc., 3435 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90010. Principal office: Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020. J. Richard Munro, President; J. Winston Fowlkes, Treasurer; Charles B. Bear, Secretary. Second class postage paid at Los Angeles, CA, and at additional mailing offices. Vol. 118 No. 13. © 1981 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to TIME, Time/Life Building, 541 N. Fairbanks Court, Chicago, Ill. 60611. □□□□□

Make higher education your priority.



TIME

to renew your subscription?

You can check the expiration date of your subscription by consulting the upper left hand corner of your mailing label. If that date is fast approaching, the easiest, most convenient way to guarantee uninterrupted service and get our low basic rate is to fill out this coupon and send it with your mailing label to:

TIME
Box 11015, Chicago, Illinois 60611

☐ Please send TIME for 1 year at $36.

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me later

Mr./Ms.
(please print)

Address Apt. No.

City State/Province Zip/Post Code

YOU CAN ALSO WRITE TO:
Order a change of address. Enter a new subscription. Order a gift subscription. Have your name removed from our mailing list.

Rate valid for U.S. only.

T51009

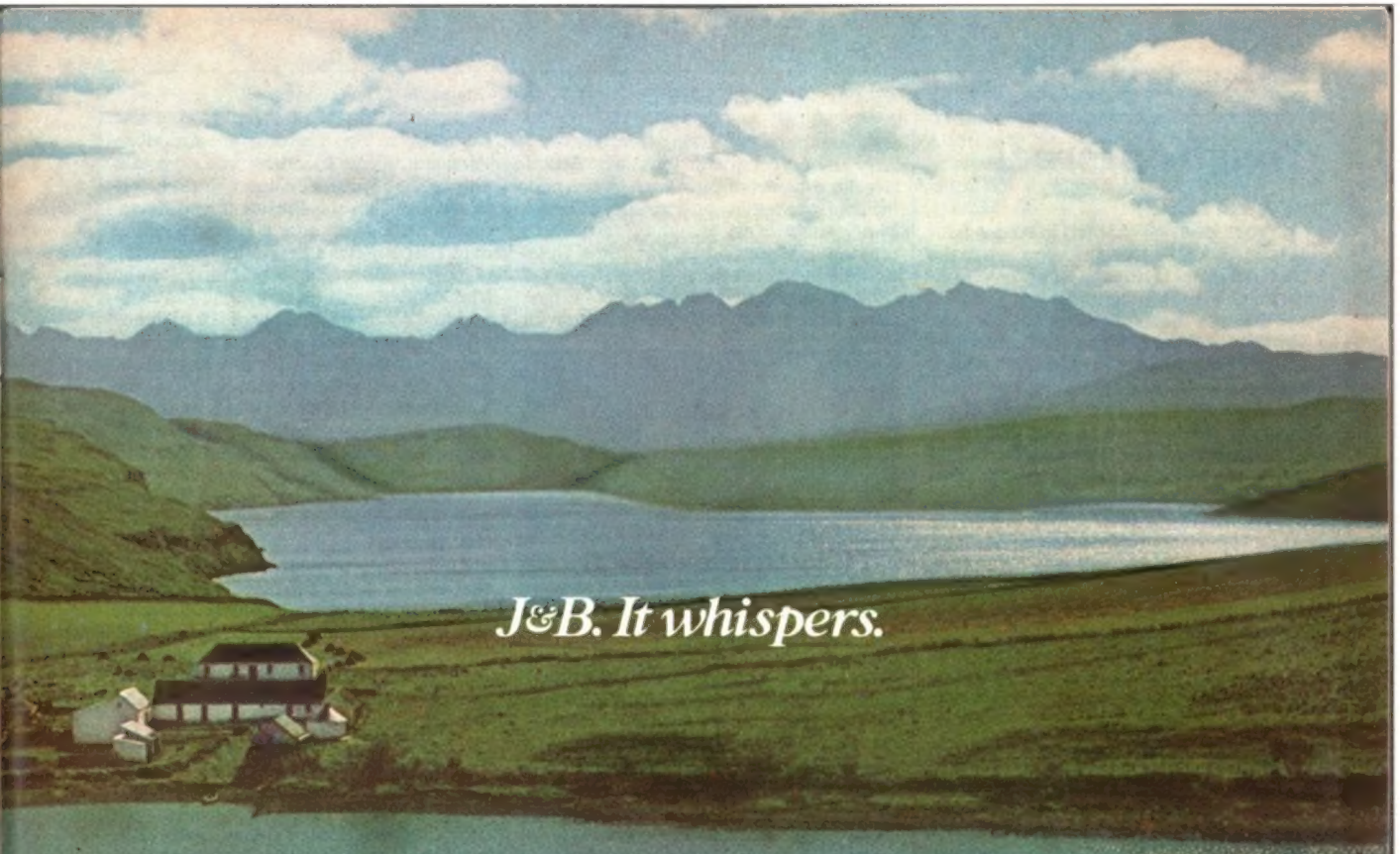
TIME

Founders: BRITON HADDEN 1898-1929 HENRY R. LUCE 1898-1967

Editor-in-Chief: Henry Anatole Grunwald
President: J. Richard Munro
Chairman of the Board: Ralph P. Davidson
Executive Vice President: Clifford J. Grum
Chairman, Executive Committee: James R. Shepley
Editorial Director: Ralph Graves
Group Vice President, Magazines: Kelso F. Sutton
Vice Chairman: Arthur Temple

MANAGING EDITOR: Ray Cave
EXECUTIVE EDITORS: Edward L. Jamieson, Jason McManus
ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITORS: Richard L. Duncan, Ronald P. Kriss
NATIONAL EDITOR: John T. Elson
SENIOR EDITORS: James D. Atwater, Martha M. Duffy, William F. Ewald, Timothy Foote, Timothy M. James, Stefan Kanfer, Donald Morrison, Christopher Porterfield, Stephen Smith, George M. Taber
International Editor: Karsten Prager
Chief of Research: Leah Shanks Gordon
ART DIRECTOR: Rudolph Hoglund
PICTURE EDITOR: Arnold H. Drapkin
OPERATIONS DIRECTOR: Gérard C. Lelièvre
SENIOR WRITERS: George J. Church, Michael Demarest, Otto Friedrich, Robert Hughes, T.E. Kalem, Ed Magnuson, Lance Morrow, Roger Rosenblatt, R.Z. Sheppard, Frank Trippett
ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Patricia Blake, Christopher Byron, Gerald Clarke, Richard Corliss, Spencer Davidson, Frederic Golden, Paul Gray, Dorothy Haystead, William A. Henry III, Russ Hoyle, Walter Isaacson, Marguerite Johnson, John Leo, Mayo Mohs, Henry Muller, John Nielsen, Richard N. Ostling, Frederick Painton, B.J. Phillips, J.D. Reed, George Russell, Thomas A. Sancton, William E. Smith, Marylois Purdy Vega, Edwin G. Warner
STAFF WRITERS: Charles P. Alexander, Kurt Andersen, Bennett H. Beach, E. Graydon Carter, Janice Castro, John S. DeMott, William Drozdiak, James Kelly, Ellie McGrath, Sara C. Medina, Jay D. Palmer, Kenneth M. Pierce, Edward E. Scharff, Alexander L. Taylor III, Anastasia Toufexis, Claudia Wallis, Michael Walsh
CONTRIBUTORS: A.T. Baker, Jay Cocks, Thomas Griffith, Melvin Maddocks, Jane O'Reilly, Richard Schickel, John Skow
REPORTER-RESEARCHERS: Ursula Nadasdy de Gallo, Sue Raffety, Betty Satterwhite Sutter (Department Heads); Audrey Bail, Peggy T. Berman, Nancy McD. Chase, Eileen Chiu, Georgia Harbison, Anne Hopkins, John Kohan, Nancy Newman, Susan M. Reed, Victoria Sales, Zona Sparks, Susanne Washburn, Genevieve A. Wilson-Smith, Rosemarie Tauris Zadikov (Senior Staff)
Peter Ainslie, Bernard Baumohl, Richard Bruns, Robert I. Burger, Rosemary Byrnes, Valenice Castronovo, Oscar Chiang, Rosamond Draper, Elaine Dutka, Philip Faflick, Kathryn Jackson Fallon, Cassie T. Furgurson, Robert T. Grieves, Adrianne Jucius, Geraldine Kirshenbaum, Melissa Ludtke Lincoln, Naushad S. Mehta, Jamie Murphy, Jeanne-Marie North, Brigid O'Hara-Forster, Judith B. Prowda, Barry Rehfeld, Elizabeth Rudulph, Alain L. Sanders, Marion H. Sanders, Sidney Urquhart, Jane Van Tassel, Nancy Pierce Williamson, Denise M. Worrell, Linda Young
CORRESPONDENTS: Richard L. Duncan (Chief); William R. Doerner, B. William Mader (Deputies) **Washington Contributing Editor:** Hugh Sidey **Diplomatic Correspondent:** Strobe Talbott
Senior Correspondents: Ruth Mehrtens Galvin, R. Edward Jackson, William Rademaekers, Sandy Smith, John F. Stacks
Washington: Robert Ajemian, Barrett Seaman, Laurence I. Barrett, Jonathan Beaty, David Beckwith, Gisela Bolte, Douglas Brew, Hays Gorey, Jerry Hannifin, David S. Jackson, Gary Lee, Neil MacNeil, Johanna McGeary, Bruce W. Nelan, Jeanne Saddler, Roberto Suro, Evan Thomas, Gregory H. Wierzynski **Chicago:** Christopher Ogden, J. Madeleine Nash, Jay Branegan, Patricia Delaney, Lee Griggs, Steven Holmes **Los Angeles:** Benjamin W. Cate, Robert L. Goldstein, Joseph J. Kane, Jeff Melvoin, Martha Smilgis, Alessandra Stanley **New York:** Peter Stoler, Daan Brehs, Barbara B. Dolan, Dorothy Ferenbaugh, Harry Kelly, Rudolph S. Rauch III, Janice C. Simpson, Frederick Ungeheuer, Bruce van Voorst, James Wilde **Atlanta:** Joseph N. Boyce, Anne Constable **Boston:** Barry Hillenbrand, Joelle Attinger, John E. Yang, James Bell **Detroit:** Paul A. Witteman, Christopher Redman **San Francisco:** Eileen Shields, Michael Moritz **Denver:** Richard Woodbury **Houston:** Sam Allis
Europe: Lawrence Malkin **London:** Bonnie Angelo, Mary Cronin, James Shepherd, Arthur White **Paris:** Jordan Bonfante, William Blaylock, Sandra Burton **Bonn:** Roland Flamini, D.L. Coutu **Eastern Europe:** Richard Hornik **Rome:** Wilton Wynn, Barry Kalb **Jerusalem:** David Aikman, David Halevy, Marlin Levin **Cairo:** Robert C. Wurmstedt **Beirut:** William Stewart, Adam Zagorin **Moscow:** Erik Amfitheatrof **Hong Kong:** Ross H. Munro, Bing W. Wong **Bangkok:** David DeVoss **Peking:** Richard Bernstein **Nairobi:** Jack E. White **Johannesburg:** Marsh Clark **New Delhi:** Marcia Gauger **Tokyo:** Edwin M. Reingold, S. Chang, Frank Iwama **Melbourne:** John Dunn **Canada:** John M. Scott, Ed Ogle **Rio de Janeiro:** Gavin Scott **Mexico City:** James Willwerth **Caribbean:** William McWhirter, Bernard Diederich
News Desk: Suzanne Davis, Al Buist, Tam Martinides Gray, Susan Lynd, Blanche Holley, David Richardson, Jean R. White, Arturo Yáñez **Administration:** Emily Friedrich, Linda D. Vartoogian
ART: Nigel Holmes, Irene Ramp (Deputy Directors); Arturo Cazenauve, Leonard S. Levine, Anthony J. Libardi, William Spencer (Assistant Directors); Lily Hou (Designer); Rosemary L. Frank (Covers); Nickolas Kalamaras **Layout:** Burjor Nargolwala (Chief); John P. Dowd, John F. Geist (Deputies); Joseph Aslander, Steve Conley, David Drapkin, Carroll Dunham, Modris Ramans, Kenneth Smith, John White, Barbara Wilhelm **Maps and Charts:** Paul J. Pugliese, Joseph Arnon, E. Noel McCoy, Deborah L. Wells
PHOTOGRAPHY: Sue Considine, Michele Stephenson (Deputies); Demetra Kosters, Helen Eisenberg (Administration) **Researchers:** Evelyn Merrin, Richard L. Boeth, Anne Callahan, Gay Franklin, Martha L. Haymaker, Paula Hornak, Peter J. Kellner, Rose Keyser, Susan Lombardo, Eva Nutt, Julia Richer, Carol Saner, Nancy Smith-Alam, Mary Thermo **Photographers:** Eddie Adams, Walter Bennett, Sahm Doherty, Arthur Grace, Dirck Halstead, Peter Jordan, David Hume Kennerly, Neil Leifer, Ben Martin, Mark Meyer, Roddey E. Mims, Ralph Morse, Stephen Northup, Bill Pierce, David Rubinger, Ted Thai, Diana Walker, John Zimmerman
MAKEUP: Charles P. Jackson (Chief); Eugene F. Coyle (International); Leonard Schulman, John M. Cavanagh (Deputies); Peter J. McGullam
OPERATIONS: Anne R. Davis (Deputy Director); Sue Aitkin (Production Chief); Stephen F. Demeter (Systems Manager); Susan B. Hahn (Copy Chief); Eleanor Edgar, Judith Anne Paul, Joseph J. Scafidi (Deputies); David Buskus, L. Rufino-Armstrong, Shirley Zimmerman (Supervisors); Thomas Abatemarco, Dolores Alexander, Frances Bander, Minda Bikman, Robert Braine, Madeline Butler, Trang Ba Chuong, Joan Cleary, Dorothy Coxe, Gary Deaton, Manuel Delgado, Leo Deuel, Lucia Hamet, Evelyn Hannon, Garry Hearne, Agustin Lamboy, Jeannine Laverty, Linda Lehrhaupt, Marcia L. Love, Katherine Mihok, Emily Mitchell, James D. Mountjoy, Bill O'Connor, Alma Routsong, Marcia Schlafmitz, Barbara Scott, Lee R. Sparks, Walter J. Tate, Linda Tawfik, Alan Washburn, Amelia Weiss
LETTERS: Joan D. Walsh (Chief)
EDITORIAL SERVICES: Christiana Walford (Director); George Karas, Benjamin Lightman, Alex Stack, Elizabeth G. Young

PUBLISHER: John A. Meyers
General Manager: Donald L. Spurdle
Promotion Director: Robert D. Sweeney
Circulation Director: Richard W. Angle Jr.
Business Manager: Arthur G. Sachs
ADVERTISING SALES DIRECTOR: William M. Kelly Jr.
U.S. Advertising Sales Director: George W. McClellan
Associate U.S. Adv. Sales Director: Charles D. Hogan



J&B. It whispers.

RARE

BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY

100% SCOTCH WHISKIES

BLENDED AND BOTTLED IN SCOTLAND BY

JUSTERINI & BROOKS LTD

St. James's Street, London, England

WINE MERCHANTS TO THEIR LATE MAJESTIES

KING GEORGE III

KING GEORGE IV

KING WILLIAM IV

QUEEN VICTORIA

KING EDWARD VII

KING GEORGE V

KING GEORGE VI

AND TO HIS LATE ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE OF WALES (1921-1936)

J&B

86 Proof Blended Scotch Whisky. © 1981 The Paddington Corp., NY

Letters

Tough on Israel

To the Editors:

Your Essay "What to Do About Israel" [Sept. 7] is a disturbing approach to the multiple issues facing the Reagan Administration as it formulates its policy toward the Middle East. The Essay assumes, wrongly, that the U.S. can "do" something about Israel. America exalts the virtue of democratic leadership among our many friends, but whenever the exercise of democracy yields difficult policy disharmony, there are those who quickly forget that this is the price exacted by free governmental processes.

Unlike TIME, most Americans do see Israel as a strategic ally, and would not accept the conclusion that "Israel is well on its way to becoming not just a dubious asset but an outright liability to American security interests, both in the Middle East and worldwide." Many Americans, Jews among them, are unhappy with Prime Minister Begin's approach to autonomy for the West Bank. A large number oppose the policy of further Jewish settlements on the West Bank as a true impediment to the attainment of peace in the Middle East. Many Americans, including Jews, would welcome a more forthcoming approach to autonomy and Palestinian aspirations. Surely TIME is aware of the heated discussions and debates on this subject, particularly among American Jews, who articulate the issue out of their great concern for the continued safety and security of Israel. Many Americans, including Jews, were profoundly disturbed by the loss of innocent life by the bombing of Beirut.

Yet, having said all this, most of these same Americans would never reach for

the crude solution offered by TIME, that is, holding back economic aid appropriated for Israel in an escrow account, to be paid out only if "genuine progress" is made in the autonomy talks, and withheld as a penalty if Israel sanctions new settlements on the West Bank. This Administration has a multitude of means available to it, short of such blackmail, to make known its views to Israel. No Israeli government ever has been, or conceivably ever could be, blind to the views of an American President, whose friendship and support is vital. The Reagan Administration believes, from all the President and Secretary of State Alexander Haig have said to date, that Israel is a key, if not the central, player in our strategic planning for the Middle East, and, accordingly, full military and economic assistance is a high priority. This does not preclude the Administration from pressing for rapid establishment of a self-governing authority on the West Bank and in Gaza by aiding and assisting the parties to the autonomy talks; nor does it preclude criticism of Israel as to new settlements.

Allies and true friends have disputes. They seek ways to resolve divergent policies. But they do not debate "the fundamental nature of their relationship," for that is not at issue. TIME does grave injury to a strong and solid alliance by its clarion call for such a debate between the U.S. and Israel, whose transcendent common goals and purposes ensure a positive, if not a special, relationship whoever may be in power at any time in either country.

Rita E. Hauser, Vice President
American Jewish Committee
New York City

Congratulations on your Essay concerning Israel. You raised issues that needed to be examined. For a long time, I

5 mg. "tar", 0.4 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May 1981.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

have been a supporter of Israel. Nevertheless our relationship with the Israelis should be reviewed and appropriate changes considered to deal with the realities of the 1980s.

Mark D. Scott
Miami

Strobe Talbott's Essay deserves a Pulitzer Prize. It is the most in-depth picture of the problem we can get.

Romeo L. von Baumgart-Psayla
Dumont, N.J.

Strobe Talbott totally ignores the fact that in its quest for peace Israel is returning to Egypt the Sinai Peninsula, which contains oilfields that Israel developed and that could have made it energy independent.

Alan Steinbach
New York City

When you ponder "What to Do About Israel," you miss a key point. Israel is one ally that wins with its own troops. In view of its record, why should Israel heed or need our advice? Or yours?

Bernard J. Gardner
Cherry Hill, N.J.

The crux of the Middle East conflict is not Israel's occupation of the West Bank but the Arab refusal to recognize Israel. Only one moderate Arab leader, Egypt's President Anwar Sadat, has had the courage to proclaim "no more war." For that he received the strategic Sinai Peninsula. Israel is still waiting for another farsighted Arab statesman who is able to discuss the West Bank.

(Rabbi) Allan Meyerowitz
Spring Valley, N.Y.

You would prefer Israel to behave like a sycophant rather than a friend, and are disturbed when it acts as an autonomous ally instead of a "client state."

Sidney W. Winchell
Louisville

Why should Begin's refusal to relinquish the West Bank of the Jordan River, so that it might become an independent Palestinian state, be an irritant in U.S.-Israeli relations? The U.S. should ask King Hussein why, when he administered this land between 1948 and 1967, he did not establish an independent state for the Palestinians.

Ted Kolodny
Lincolnwood, Ill.

Our leaders must realize and begin to act on the fact that the interests of the U.S. and Israel are not always and automatically identical. Pretending that they are damages us throughout the world and, paradoxically, damages Israel even more, since it has to bear the brunt of the continued confrontation.

John A. Quatrini
Hatboro, Pa.

You correctly suggest that President Truman threw his weight behind the creation of a Jewish state for humanitarian reasons. The U.S. has no historical commitment to support Israeli claims to the West Bank.

William Roger Louis
Austin

A more evenhanded approach by the U.S. in the Middle East will no longer be written off as the result of petro-influence. Israeli conduct is earning our displeasure.

G. Leonard Brugnano
Mount Clemens, Mich.

The Middle East conflict has no right or wrong. Pain and suffering have been endured and caused by both sides. Why should an American "get tough" policy apply to Israel and not to the Arabs?

Gerald Tepler
New York City

Winning Streep

Meryl Streep is an artist, not a celebrity [Sept. 7]. She doesn't play a part—she is the part. That's magic.

Corey A. Zimmerman
Lutz, Fla.

Ever since reading John Fowles' *The French Lieutenant's Woman* years ago, I've been mentally casting a film version. Try as I might, a "right" Sarah never came

You found it.

The enjoyable ultra low tar cigarette...
and you didn't have to search furlong.

TAKE UP A LIVE

1982 GRAND PRIX LJ

Great news, sports fans. Grand Prix's newly available 4-barrel V-6 is ready to make driving fun again!

Our '82 LJ is sleek. Slippery. And just slightly sensational. With available reclining bucket seats and floor-mounted gearshift. And a dazzling instrument panel that will constantly convince you that you're in the right place at the right time.

Now go on and find some highway. And feel the way LJ

PONTIAC NOW THE

LY NEW SPORT

tames those turns. Its standard power steering and brakes and full coil suspension help make driving easier. And exciting. With either the standard V-6, or even more efficient available V-8 diesel.*

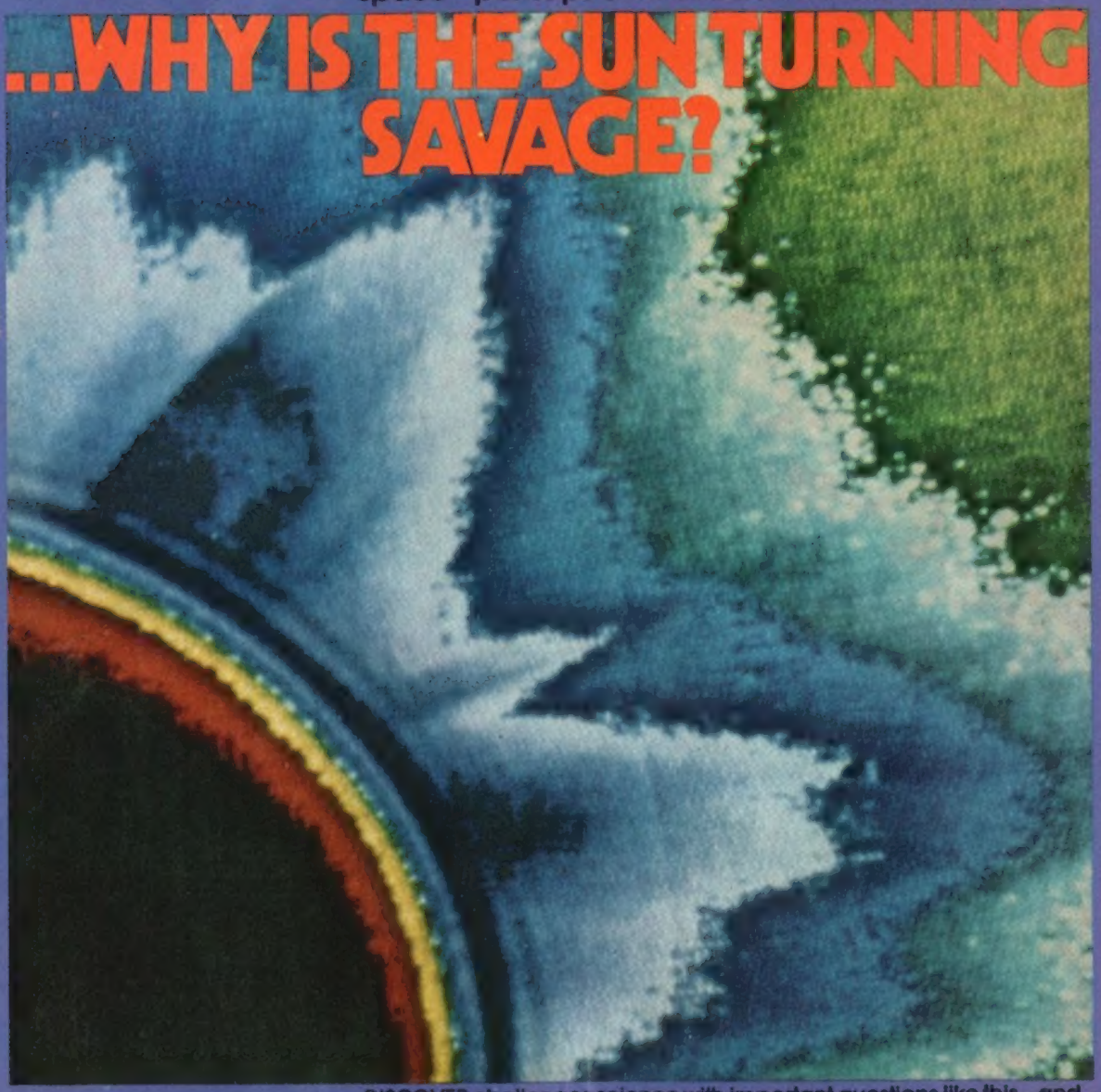
*V-8 diesel mileage: 34 HWY. EST., (23) EPA EST. MPG. Use the estimated mpg for comparison. Your mileage may differ depending on speed, distance, weather. Actual highway mileage lower. Requires air conditioning. Some Pontiacs are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries, or affiliated companies worldwide. See your dealer for details.

GM

EXCITEMENT BEGINS

A tiny hot spark of energy appears on the sun's surface. In an instant, the area brightens and swells, like a prairie fire suddenly fed by gasoline, flooding large regions with x-rays. Great chunks of the sun's surface lift and sail upward like blimps that have lost their moorings. Then, suddenly, part of the corona blows out, sending billions of tons of hot gas into space—perhaps on a collision course with earth...

...WHY IS THE SUN TURNING SAVAGE?



DISCOVER challenges science with important questions like this—and explores the answers in clear, jargon-free language the non-scientist can understand. Illustrated with unforgettable full-color photography.

DISCOVER—the great adventure of science!

To subscribe, use the attached card. Or write DISCOVER, 541 North Fairbank Court, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

DISCOVER

Letters

into focus until the first time I saw Meryl Streep. She is the only actress capable of playing that demanding, elusive role

Patricia Johnson
Sonoma, Calif.

On several occasions I have been told by strangers that I bear a slight resemblance to Actress Meryl Streep. If only they would go on to tell me that I also share her brains, talent and ambition

Cynthia A. Cooper
Findlay, Ohio

Sex in the Playpen

The idea presented in "Cradle-to-Grave Intimacy" [Sept. 7] is also appalling to the vast majority of us in the sex education and therapy field. Yes, children are sexual beings and need to know about sexuality. But youngsters do not need to act this out with adults. All of us are constantly working with patients who were damaged when young by adult-child sex.

Roy G. Gravesen, M.D.
Director, Sex Therapy Clinic
University of California, Irvine

Children are not miniature adults. They are unique creations who must be allowed to develop without unnecessary risks to their physical and psychological health. Culture has placed a taboo around the specter of childhood sexuality to protect, not inhibit, our young people.

(The Rev.) Stephen M. Bass
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Those who advocate child-with-child or child-with-adult sex are psychologically sick and are seeking only to justify what they did, what they are doing, or what they want to do.

Edwin G. Troutman, M.D.
Fort Worth

What child can benefit by having sex with an adult who is using him for his own sexual stimulation? What infant can speak up against such abuse? What teenager is emotionally capable of separating his desire to be loved by a parent with that parent's desire for sex with his own child?

Charles and Dale Scaglione
West Hurley, N.Y.

You don't seem to understand the difference between sexuality and sexual intercourse. Most sex educators believe that everyone is sexual throughout his life. Nearly none advocates that children or teen-agers should engage in sexual intercourse. Nor do we believe that incest is ever a good idea.

Sol Gordon, Professor of
Child and Family Studies
Syracuse University
Syracuse

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020

Business in Chicago? Now, you can afford to stay downtown at a lakefront hotel.

For the economical business traveler, **The Chicago Lakeshore Hotel** is the ideal choice everytime.

Located downtown, with convenient on-premise parking. **The Chicago Lakeshore Hotel** provides quick access to virtually the entire metropolis, for a tariff that seems virtually unbelievable: from $42 per night. It's an affordable rate that leaves room in the business budget for the pleasures of Chicago, too

$42 Per Room

For reservations and more information, see your travel agent or consult your Yellow Pages for the listing of the Best Western 24-hour toll-free number. Or telephone **The Chicago Lakeshore Hotel.**

THE CHICAGO LAKESHORE HOTEL

Downtown Chicago's most affordable hotel on Lake Shore Drive.

600 N. Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, IL 60611 • (312) 787-4700

NEIL LEIFER

"Trailing a Promethean plume of fire and smoke, the entire 18-story-high, 4.5 million-lb. package thundered off the pad, shaking the earth for miles around. From the hundreds of thousands of spectators came encouraging shouts: 'Go, man, go!' 'Fly like an eagle!' 'Oh my god, what a show!'" *TIME, April 20, 1981.*

Read TIME and understand. TIME

SPEND FOUR NIGHTS WITH US ON BUSINESS. WE'LL GIVE YOU ONE NIGHT FOR PLEASURE. FREE.

They don't even have to be four nights in a row. Any four nights earn you one night free of charge. Or if you want, you can get a $40 Holiday Inn Guest Check which can be used anywhere in the world.

We're the Holiday Inn Chicago City Centre, Mart Plaza and Lake Shore Drive. Three unique highrise hotels right in the center of downtown Chicago.

With luxurious guestrooms, fine restaurants and lounges, exclusive free parking, indoor and outdoor swimming pools, even a complete sports complex with tennis, racquetball and more.

Where doing business becomes a pleasure.

CHICAGO CITY CENTRE
300 East Ohio Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611
(312) 787-6100

MART PLAZA
350 North Orleans Street
Chicago, Illinois 60654
(312) 836-5000

LAKE SHORE DRIVE
644 North Lake Shore Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60611
(312) 943-9200

Holiday Inn®

Free parking for your convenience.

Free day subject to availability. Offer good thru March 31, 1982. Not valid for specially rated programs. Ask for details upon check-in.

Your Bank

Account Number

City & State

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Save the Children

19

$16.00

Sixteen and no/100 DOLLARS

(Signature)

MEMO: *U.S. Income Tax Deductible Monthly Sponsorship*

(Your Address)

City & State

Zip

Fill out this check (or use your own) and save the children

For only 52¢ a day (just $16 a month) you can befriend a needy child through Save the Children. Your money, combined with that of other sponsors, can breathe new life into an impoverished village…help hardworking people in their fight for dignity…turn despair into hope for a child who has known only disaster. 52¢ may not buy much where you live. But for the poorest of the poor, where the need is so desperate, it can work miracles.

For your first monthly sponsorship contribution, just fill out and sign the check at the top of this page (yes, as long as you indicate your bank name and account number, it is negotiable). Mail the entire page to Save the Children. Of course, you may use your personal check if you prefer.

TELL US HOW YOU WANT TO HELP BY ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS.

Your name _____ (please print)

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

1 What kind of child would you like to help?

☐ Boy ☐ Girl ☐ Either

2 What geographical area are you interested in?

Urgent need exists in all the areas listed below. Select an area, or let us assign a child where the need is greatest.

☐ **Where the need is greatest**

☐ Africa
☐ American Indian
☐ Bangladesh
☐ Chicano (U.S.)
☐ Colombia
☐ Dominican Republic
☐ Honduras
☐ Indonesia
☐ Inner Cities (U.S.)
☐ Israel
☐ Lebanon
☐ Mediterranean
☐ Mexico
☐ Nepal
☐ Southern States (U.S.)
☐ Sri Lanka (Ceylon)

3 Would you like a picture of your sponsored child?

Shortly after we select a child for you, we can send you a photograph and brief personal history, if you desire.

☐ Yes ☐ No

4 Would you like to correspond with your sponsored child?

If desired, correspondence can help build a meaningful one-to-one relationship. Translations, where necessary, are supplied by Save the Children.

☐ Yes ☐ No

5 Would you like information about the child's community?

When you become a sponsor, your funds are used to help children in the most effective way possible—by helping the entire community with projects and services. For health care, education, food production, and nutrition. Several times a year you can receive detailed reports on these community activities which provide permanent improvements to the child's environment. Would you like to receive such information?

☐ Yes ☐ No

6 Do you wish verification of Save the Children credentials?

Save the Children is indeed proud of the handling of its funds. Based on last year's audit, an exceptionally large percentage (83.5%) of each dollar spent was used for program services and direct aid to children and their communities. Due to volunteered labor and materials, your donation provides your sponsored child with benefits worth many times your total gift. Would you like to receive an informative Annual Report (including a summary financial statement)?

☐ Yes ☐ No

(A complete audit statement is available upon request.)

7 Would you rather make a contribution than become a sponsor at this time?

☐ Yes, enclosed is my contribution of $_____

☐ Check here for general information about our unique programs for aiding impoverished children.

© 1981 SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION INC

T 9/28/1

Mail to:

Save the Children®

50 Wilton Road, Westport, Connecticut 06880

Attn: David L. Guyer, President

YOUR SPONSORSHIP PAYMENTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS ARE U.S. INCOME TAX DEDUCTIBLE.

Established 1932. The original U.S. child sponsorship agency. Member of American and International Councils of Voluntary Agencies.

In Illinois: The Ghost of John L. Lewis

Galatia (pop. 1,023) sits alongside the two-lane tarmac of Highway 34 in Southern Illinois like hips on a snake. Barely. There is a cluster of neat single-story frame houses, a couple of eating places, a bank, a gas station and small supermarket. A lone yellow blinker slows traffic a little. But few outsiders ever stop, and that is fine with Galatians, who have better things to do than chat. They raise corn, graze cattle and dig coal for a living. "Until lately," drawls one miner, "two dogs crossing the road at the same time was a big event here." Now there are bigger and more ominous events in town. As has often been the case in the region's tumultuous history, coal is the crux.

Galatia lies on the eastern edge of the Illinois basin, a 25 million-acre, spoon-shaped, subterranean shelf of coal that has made the state the nation's fourth largest producer. For almost a century now, the basin has been union turf. While only 44% of all U.S. coal is dug by members of the United Mine Workers of America, down from 70% a decade ago, some 99% of Illinois coal is union mined. The legendary John L. Lewis rose to the presidency of the U.M.W. as a legislative lobbyist from the union's Illinois District 12, which includes Galatia. Since the Iowa-born Lewis first arrived in 1908, the dirtiest four-letter word in coal country has been scab.

But now the Oklahoma-based Kerr-McGee Coal Corp. is clearing a 3,000-acre site on both sides of Highway 34, barely a mile east of Galatia, for a new deep-shaft mine. The company plans to invest $185 million in the venture, which will employ up to 700 miners—all nonunion. Many towns would greet such an investment with enthusiasm. Galatia did not.

One morning last month, nearly 2,000 miners marched up to the chain-link security fence surrounding Kerr-McGee's site and tore down more than two miles of it with their bare hands. Security guards and hastily summoned state police were showered with rocks and Molotov cocktails. Construction equipment was torched and grass fires set. As smoke swirled around them, police fired tear gas from grenade launchers. When that did not work, National Guard helicopters were called in to dispense more tear gas. While the battle raged at the mine site, the single-story frame house in Galatia that served as Kerr-McGee headquarters was burned to the ground. Never mind that it was close to the fire station. Firemen trained their hoses on an adjoining structure instead.

As tear gas swirls around them, protesters demolish fence at Kerr-McGee's nonunion mine

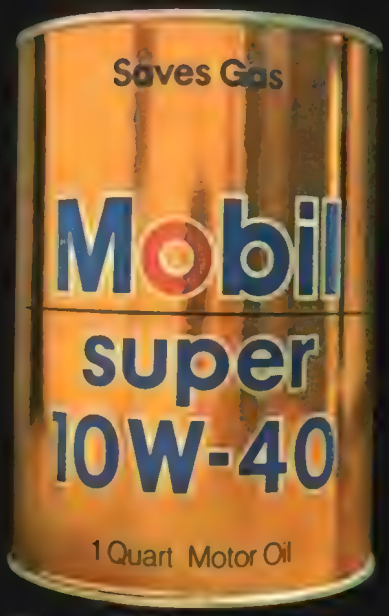
Unemployment in the area is running higher than 20%, other local mines are laying off workers, and nonunion mines often pay better than their unionized counterparts, if only to discourage organizing attempts. So there may be some Galatians to whom the Kerr-McGee project seems like a good idea. But they know enough to keep quiet. Storekeepers say they have been threatened with arson if they do business with the newcomer. Many citizens are chary of talking with strangers. A strapping young man emerging from Ragsdale's Laundromat says that, although he needs a job, he turned down $14 an hour to join nonunion construction workers. "My dad's a miner. He'd kill me if I even talked with scabs."

At Fay's Cafe, where a sign on the screen door decrees NO SHIRT, NO SHOES, NO SERVICE, a jut-jawed miner hunches over a cup of coffee at the Formica counter, digging coal grime out of his fingernails with one toothpick while another bobs at the corner of his mouth. "Ain't gonna give you my name," he growls. "But just remember Herrin and Muddy Bottoms. This ain't but the start." Herrin is a town some 20 miles to the west where striking union loyalists shot 19 would-be strikebreakers to death in the "Herrin Massacre" of 1922. Muddy Bottoms is an area along the Muddy River a few miles to the north of Herrin, where U.M.W. stalwarts loyal to John L. Lewis fought off supporters of a rival union with clubs, shovels and shotguns in the early 1930s. The miner adds: "Them that sets up scab here is gonna set up in blood and ashes."

Kim Conley, 30, of Herrin, is a pit committeeman for the union at Old Ben 25 mine in nearby West Frankfort. "Kerr-McGee will hire miners for Galatia out of state, where union tradition isn't strong, and pay better than union scale, scrimping on safety for their profit. With no union, anyone who complains about safety will get fired. I hate to see everything we fought for here go down the tubes. John L. Lewis would roll over in his grave."

For the moment, the militant miners are lying low. Kerr-McGee has secured a temporary injunction against picketing at the Galatia site. So far 20 miners identified from photographs as participants in the August attack have been arrested on charges of criminal damage to property, mob action or aggravated battery. (All are free on bond.) Kerr-McGee President James G. Randolph, 51, a retired Air Force major general, flew to Galatia from corporate headquarters in Oklahoma City and ordered work resumed. The chain-link fence has been rebuilt. A score of bright yellow bulldozers, scrapers and earthmovers are growling back and forth, tossing up giant dust clouds as they level the site for shaft sinking. At night, the construction equipment is drawn up in a cluster under floodlights, covered-wagon style, for protection against sabotage. Admits Randolph: "We expected some resistance in Galatia, but its intensity at this early stage surprised us. Still, our policy remains to encourage nonunion operation—by persuasion, not coercion. It worked well for us in Wyoming."

Back at Fay's Cafe, Randolph's words draw hoots of derision. "Shoot!" shouts a bearded miner, brushing back his U.M.W. cap. "We'll run scabs out like we did at Herrin years back. This here ain't no Wyoming." This here's union country. John L. Lewis country. —*By Lee Griggs*



Mobil super

Mobil super-duper

If you're the kind of person who wants to get extra miles without spending extra money, change to Mobil Super 10W-40.

It's been reformulated to save gas. And it doesn't cost any more than conventional 10W-40 oils.

What can be more super than that?

But if you're the kind of person who wants something really super-duper, no other leading oil comes close to Mobil 1® synthetic oil. It's the only leading oil that can take you 25,000 miles or one year (whichever comes first) without an oil change.* Also it saves gas compared to conventional oils.

And it protects your engine up to 500° above and helps get you started even down at 35° below.

And what can be more super-duper than that?

From Mobil. Two oils that save you gas.

*Add oil as needed. New car owners follow warranty requirements. Diesel and turbo owners follow manufacturer's instructions. © 1981 Mobil Oil Corporation

A resolute Ronald Reagan confronting skeptical House Speaker Tip O'Neill at White House lunch before the next go-round on federal spending

TIME/SEPTEMBER 28, 1981

"Blood, Sweat and Tears"

Preparing for more bone-tiring battles over the budget

"Americans have not seen for many years a successful fight on inflation, or balanced budgets, or so massive a tax reduction. A lot of bets on the future are still being hedged against the possibility that you, and we, will not carry through."
—Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker

The Fed chief was testifying to the Senate Budget Committee, but he might as well have been addressing Ronald Reagan. Not that the President needed the warning. As he prepared for a speech this week announcing a new, and drastic, series of budget cuts, White House aides were well aware that the President for the first time was facing a credibility gap. To a large extent, Reagan had opened it himself by delivering on his campaign promises to slash taxes deeply, while starting a huge military buildup. Those astounding successes have raised grave doubts that Reagan can also redeem his equally important pledge to balance the federal budget by fiscal 1984.

Somehow, the President must find $90 billion by his Administration's own estimate ($100 billion by Volcker's) to slash from planned federal spending over the next three years. About $16 billion of that will have to come out of the budget for fiscal 1982, which starts Oct. 1—on top of $35 billion axed in the first round of reductions. Moreover, the President will have to push his new cuts through a Congress that seems much less compliant than it was when it handed Reagan his big budget and tax victories in early summer.

The dimensions of the difficulty produced an unmistakable air of tension last week at the White House. Reagan skipped his Wednesday horseback ride at Quantico, Va., for a budget session and remarked at a Cabinet meeting on Thursday that "there will be blood, sweat and tears for all of you." Though Reagan kept his options open during a Camp David weekend of studying briefing books, aides said he was likely to propose:

▸ Deferring, until Oct. 1, 1982, cost-of-living increases that under present law would be due three to seven months earlier in eight major classes of federal benefits: Social Security and veterans' benefits; military, civil service and railroad retirement pensions; supplemental security income for the blind and disabled; food stamps and other federally funded nutrition programs; payments to miners suffering from black-lung disease. The Government might save $4 billion to $5 billion next fiscal year, at the price of slicing into some programs that Reagan had earlier defined as part of an untouchable "social safety net." True enough, current formulas are widely believed to reward recipients of some of these benefits, especially Social Security, more than the rise in their real living costs would warrant. Nonetheless, the decision might embarrass the President, who had pledged only last Tuesday that "the budget will not be balanced at the expense of those dependent on Social Security."

▸ Wiping out the last job programs financed under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, which has already been cut from $7.8 billion this fiscal year to $3.5 billion next. In addition to ending the program of hiring 300,000 unemployed people for public-service jobs, the Administration seems ready to end subsidies to private businessmen for

the on-the-job training of 500,000 disadvantaged youths

▸ Abolishing the $6.4 billion-a-year program of federal revenue-sharing aid to cities and local governments over the next three years, thus cutting off money that now finances programs ranging from airport construction to library maintenance

▸ Reducing the 2.9 million-member federal work force by 75,000 over the next three years, primarily through attrition

▸ Dismantling the Departments of Education and Energy, which Reagan has often denounced as unnecessary

ment running—but only until Nov. 1.

Even more important is the difficulty of convincing legislators that Reagan has made the right decisions on what to cut and how much. Senate Republican chiefs, including Majority Leader Howard Baker and Budget Committee Chairman Pete Domenici, called at the White House last week to argue that, if Reagan is to have any hope of balancing the budget by 1984, he must cut military spending much deeper than the modest $13 billion over three years he proposed two weeks ago. The Senators contended that he must also

ministration might not fight to the end against a cut of around $5 billion in military outlays next fiscal year. Even that might not satisfy the Gypsy Moths, who called last week for $9 billion.

But what might be enough for the Gypsy Moths could be far too much for the Boll Weevils—the mostly Southern conservative Democrats, also numbering a hard-core 20, who gave Reagan vital votes for his first round of budget and tax cuts. Besides being ideologically in favor of a strong defense, the Boll Weevils are far from unmindful that heavy military

PHOTOGRAPHS BY RODDEY E. MIMS

Pondering how deep the cuts must go: Senators Hollings and Domenici; Budget-Slasher Stockman; Federal Reserve Chairman Volcker

▸ Ordering a 10% to 12% across-the-board cut in spending by all nonmilitary Government departments, exempting only "entitlement" programs for which benefits are fixed by law. The reductions might total $12 billion for the Department of Health and Human Services alone. Just which programs would be cut or abolished to squeeze under these ceilings is most unclear.

In a combative speech to Republican women in Denver on Friday, Reagan acknowledged the difficulty of his task. Said he: "All of us—the Administration, the Congress and the American people—are going to be bone-tired from the budget battles over the next few years."

In fighting those battles, Reagan faces severe problems of legislative strategy. Normally, Congress would vote separately on 13 appropriations bills providing money to run the Government through the next fiscal year. To avoid having his program hacked to bits during these votes, Reagan would like to present some kind of omnibus bill for a single yes or no vote on the spending cuts as a package. Congress agreed to such an all-or-nothing procedure when it set spending ceilings for fiscal 1982 in June. But the Democrats who control the House seem in no mood to go along again. Said House Speaker Tip O'Neill: "We are going the regular road of normalcy as far as the budget is concerned." The White House does not have much time to change minds: the House last week voted a "continuing resolution" putting up money to keep the Govern-

take an additional whack out of entitlement programs, such as Social Security and Medicaid. The thought of any major slowing of the growth of Social Security benefits, however, frightens many House Republicans. Frets one: "I saw a bumper sticker the other day: SAVE SOCIAL SECURITY—VOTE DEMOCRATIC."

Military spending will be an especially potent issue in the House, where Reagan faces the all but impossible task of satisfying two ideologically different groups that were essential to his earlier victories. One group is composed of roughly 20 moderate-to-liberal Northeastern and Midwestern Republicans who have nicknamed themselves the Gypsy Moths. They dread the thought of voting for further reductions in social programs that aid their constituents, such as federal money to help low-income people to buy fuel, and are begging Reagan instead to slash military spending in fiscal 1982 far more than the $2 billion he has proposed. Says Jim Jeffords of Vermont: "Political survival is involved. Some of us are obviously getting very nervous that we might not be around here after the next election."

Publicly, the White House has termed Reagan's latest military-spending proposals "nonnegotiable." Office of Management and Budget Director David Stockman, who has consistently argued that the Pentagon must subject itself to budget discipline, has privately hinted that the Ad-

spending benefits their constituents. They have another problem in going down the line with Reagan again. The House Democratic caucus last week voted to let their leaders identify certain key votes, and to deny choice committee assignments or committee chairmanships to any Democrats who buck the party line on too many of these tests.

Moreover, Reagan this time can count on no help from mainstream Democrats. On the first budget and tax votes, House Democrats framed programs of their own, going far toward meeting the President's wishes, only to see the President seize on their concessions to wring still deeper reductions from Congress. This time the Democrats hope to sit back and enjoy the show as the G.O.P. wrangles internally. Democratic Senator Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina observes sarcastically that the Republicans' motto seems to be "When in danger, when in doubt, run in circles, scream and shout."

Reagan still has an extraordinary gift for drumming up public support, which helped him win victories in Congress at the start of his term. But that prowess will now be tested to the utmost. Beyond the tactics of legislative battles, the President must convince the nation that his promises to cut taxes, rearm the country, and reduce civilian spending enough to balance the budget while maintaining essential social services are not hopelessly contradictory. —*By George J. Church. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and Neil MacNeil/Washington*

Those Cuts: How Deep Is Deep?

No one knows, though some programs are fatter than others

For state and local officials across the nation, Oct. 1 is D-day: this is when $35 billion in budget cuts passed by Congress last July go into effect. Figuring out just who will be hurt—and how badly—by the slashes remains a baffling task for many states. Congress has yet to agree on exactly how much will be trimmed from specific programs, and the Administration so far has offered only sketchy guidelines on how the funds must be spent.

One key question is just how harshly the poor will be squeezed, and once again no one knows. In defense of the budget cuts, supporters argue that many federally funded entitlement programs, which began as experiments in helping the needy, have become a burden on taxpayers, since the dramatic growth of these programs over the past few years cannot be attributed only to inflation and rising unemployment. Federal outlays for Medicaid, for example, have risen 15% annually for the past five years to keep up with ballooning health-care costs. The food-stamp program swelled from 16 million recipients in 1978 to 21.1 million in 1980, after Congress struck down the rule that people must purchase their stamps. Some officials view the cuts as a chance to pare administrative costs as well as marginally effective programs. Says Democratic State Representative Francine Panehal of Ohio: "It's a golden opportunity to get rid of programs that were worthless and prop up those that really work."

A rundown of major programs and how states are planning to cope with cuts:

Medicaid. Federal funding for health-care programs will be sliced by 3%, or $500 million, in fiscal 1982. In Missouri, officials have cut back on the number of prescriptions a person can obtain, set standard reimbursement rates for various medical operations, and refused to pay for weekend hospital admissions except in emergencies. Faced with a $51 million shortfall, Illinois is requiring welfare recipients to chip in a dollar for every doctor visit or pharmacy order. Explains Budget Director Robert Mandeville: "This will cause folks to think twice."

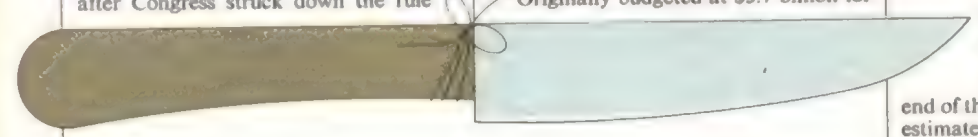
Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Originally budgeted at $5.7 billion for 1982, this program will be cut by $1.1 billion. Nearly all states will be forced to either clip or eliminate completely the benefits for 7% of all recipients. Some states are seeking ways to make up the shortfall by cutting overhead: officials of the Pennsylvania department of public welfare, for instance, discovered that the new, simplified regulations will allow them to get rid of a computer-run management system. Estimated saving: $4.3 million. Many officials, however, find it cruelly ironic that the new AFDC regulations of the pro-family Reagan Administration discourage marriage. Under the new regulations, for example, a poor man who marries a poor woman with children will forfeit nearly all benefits. Says California Assemblywoman Maxine Waters: "I'm telling anyone who will listen that there's no point in getting married if you're both poor and have kids."

Food Stamps. With this program's 1982 budget of $12.9 billion snipped by $1.6 billion, some 1 million out of 22.5 million recipients will lose their stamps. Most states will make no attempt to cover the shortfall from local funds. Michigan officials, for example, expect to pare 16,000 from its food-stamp line of 396,000 households, while New York City may shave 68,000 from its roll of 1.1 million.

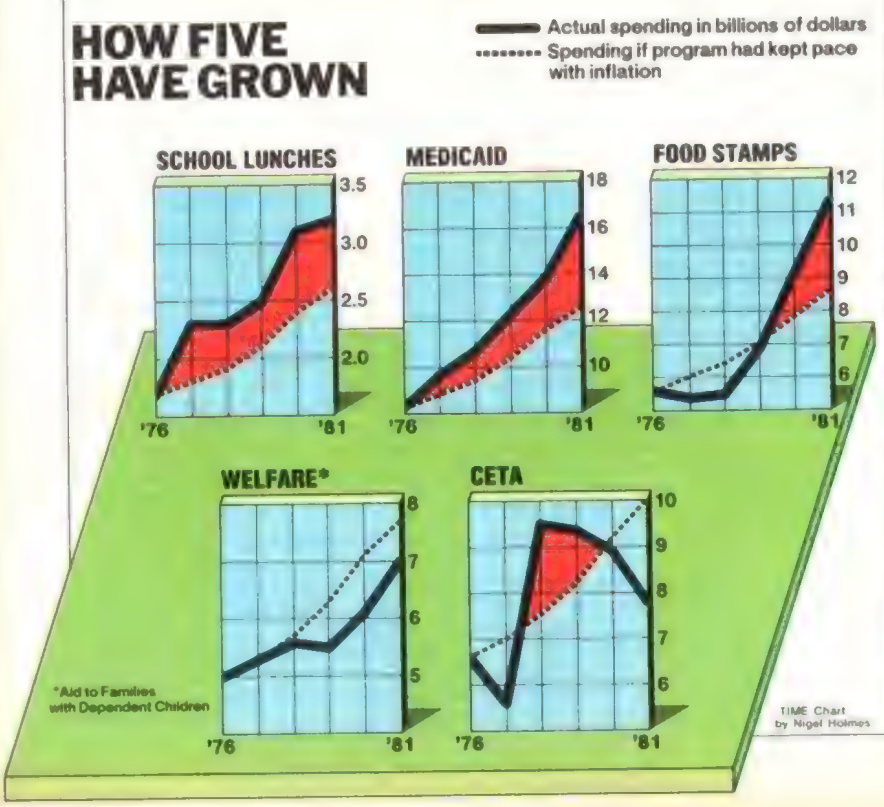
Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. Though this program must abolish its 300,000 public service jobs by the end of this month, the Labor Department estimates that some 50% of CETA-funded workers have already found other jobs, most with state and local governments. New York City, for example, will shift about 6,000 of its 9,000 employees to the city payroll, at a cost of $78 million.

School Lunches. By cutting the number of students eligible for free and reduced-price lunches, Congress carved about $1.5 billion from this program's $4.7 billion budget. School districts are thus faced with the choice of either hiking prices or slimming down portions; many have already doubled the charge for reduced-price meals to 40¢. To help cafeterias cope, the Department of Agriculture cooked up new nutritional guidelines that would provide schoolchildren, for example, with 6 oz. of milk instead of 8 oz., and, absurdly, would allow schools to consider ketchup and relish as vegetables.

Already faced with severe cash shortages, the states are less sanguine about being able to absorb a second round of cuts in social services. All but unanimously, officials argue that the slashes will remove the safety net from many whom the President would accept as being "truly needy." Admits Illinois' Mandeville: "We're getting to the point now that it will begin to hurt." —*By James Kelly. Reported by Jeanne Saddler/Washington, with other U.S. bureaus*



HOW FIVE HAVE GROWN



A Harvest Too Good to Afford

Farmers face low prices and an assault on their subsidies

Nature was kind this year, perhaps too kind. As the last cuttings of wheat are taken from the plains, the projected bumper harvest of 75 million metric tons (2.8 billion bu.) will smash last year's all-time high. The corn crop, 202 million metric tons, will also set a new record. Total American grain production will hit 322.5 million metric tons, more than 50% greater than the Soviet Union's third poor harvest in a row. But the bounty is bittersweet: farm income has fallen almost 40% since 1979. All that newly harvested grain has sent prices plunging, while farmers' costs, especially interest rates, remain as high as an elephant's eye.

Yet many farmers will be largely protected from financial losses in 1981, as they have been since the Dust Bowl disasters of the 1930s, by an enormously expensive array of federal subsidy and price-stabilization programs. Since wheat prices this year have already fallen 21¢ below the "target price" of $3.81 per bu., farmers can expect some $350 million in "deficiency payments"—literally, Government handouts—to make up the difference. In addition, more than 1 billion bu. of grain are expected to end up in farmer-owned reserves by the end of the year under a program that will lend farmers close to $2.9 billion to keep it off the market. The Agriculture Department is also expected to buy 10% of this year's dairy production, at a cost of $1.9 billion, to keep prices high. The estimated federal outlay in fiscal 1982 for farm subsidies and loans: a staggering $3.9 billion.

The Administration is also engaged in an all-out effort to increase farm exports. Agriculture Secretary John Block leaves on a sales mission to the Far East early next month and another delegation from his department leaves for Moscow in a week. Already 60% of U.S. wheat and one-third of all farm produce ($45 billion worth) are sold overseas, propping up domestic prices to some extent and thus reducing the need for direct subsidies. The Soviets will require 40 million tons of imported grain this year. After being rebuffed by President Carter's embargo last year, Moscow has been cautious in making American purchases. They have contracted for only 6.5 million tons since Reagan lifted the embargo.

Last week, however, the formerly sacrosanct farm subsidies came under a surprising assault in the Senate. Rejecting the increases proposed by its agriculture committee, the chamber trimmed milk price supports, once the most sacred of cows. Protection for peanut planters was also reduced.

The quadrennial farm programs, representing Government intervention in the marketplace in the extreme, are the antithesis of Reaganomics. They also tend to produce budget-busting expenditures. So President Reagan proposed a farm bill that would abolish target prices completely, lower dairy price supports and eliminate acreage allotments for peanuts. Explained Block: "Farmers should look to the free market for their income, not to the Government." Even so, the bill was expected to cost $10 billion over five years.

The Senate Agriculture Committee, however, restored the subsidy and allotment programs, increased dairy price supports and raised the cost of the bill by 40%. The House committee's version was even more generous. But the united front usually exhibited by farm-state legislators, in which each protects the others' commodities, showed signs of weakness. Senate Agriculture Committee Chairman Jesse Helms of North Carolina had his staff draw up a bill that mainly protected tobacco and peanuts, important products of his state. Senator Robert Dole of Kansas quietly worked on his own version, eventually adopted by the committee, which doubled Reagan's proposed subsidies for wheat and corn. Reagan further fractured farm unity by promising Southern Democrats, whose votes he needed for his economic package, that he would not oppose their sugar and peanut supports.

JESSE HELMS AND THE TRULY NEEDY

The most important fight last week was over dairy prices. The 1977 farm bill supported milk products at 80% of parity. That means that the price farmers receive for milk products represents 80% of the buying power relative to prices in 1910-14, which were golden years for farmers. The Senate Agriculture Committee's bill would have set milk price supports at 75% of parity, at a cost of $4.5 billion over five years. But the Senate, by a vote of 51 to 42, approved an amendment by Iowa Republican Roger Jepsen substituting the Administration's original proposal. The new version would effectively allow the support price of milk to fall to as low as 65% of parity by fiscal 1983 before pegging it at 70%, at a projected five-year saving of $1 billion.

Helms was among those voting to trim the milk price supports. The next day, when peanut programs came up for a vote, he found milk-state Senators and others lining up against him. Agriculture Committee Member Richard Lugar, a Republican and former mayor of Indianapolis, came close to defeating both the committee's proposal to raise peanut price supports from $435 to $596 a ton and the system of allotments, which are Government franchises that limit the acreage on which peanuts can be planted. Helms was finally able to save the price support increase, but not the allotment program.

Sugar and tobacco interests fared better. After three years of doing fine without Government subsidy, sugar will now be supported at 18¢ per lb. for no good reason other than the clout that sugar interests wield. But the Senate did cut back on the increase in grain target prices recommended by the agriculture committee and farm lobbyists. The committee bill would provide subsidies when wheat prices fall below $4.10 per bu. The full Senate lowered that target to $4.

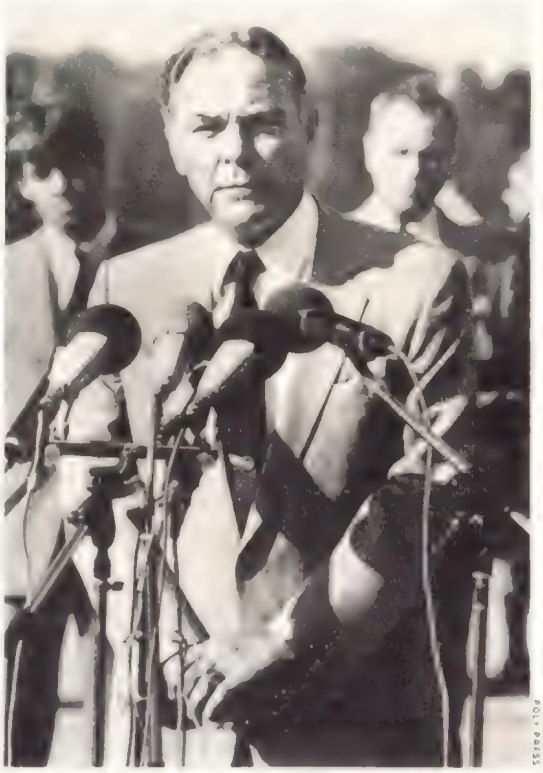
Any changes that the House and Senate finally agree to make in the new farm bill will undoubtedly be relatively minor compared with other domestic cuts. But the heated debate on the Senate floor last week indicates a growing discontent with the favored status farmers enjoy in receiving protection from the vagaries of the marketplace. Despite the hardship amid plenty that plagues farmers this year, simply continuing—and further bloating—the bewildering array of support programs will do little in the long run to assure that future supplies are geared to demand. Meanwhile, every good harvest will be bad news for taxpayers. ***By Walter Isaacson. Reported by Gisela Bolte and Johanna McGeary/Washington***

Getting Together—at Last

The Administration's first close encounter with Moscow

After eight months of lobbing intercontinental accusations and insults at each other, the U.S. and the Soviet Union have the first opportunity this week to engage each other at close quarters. In New York City to attend the 36th session of the U.N. General Assembly, Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko will twice meet in private. Those sessions will be the first eyeball-to-eyeball contacts at the policymaking level since President Reagan's Inauguration.

The tone of the two meetings, which will take place at the U.S. and Soviet missions to the U.N., is sure to be less hostile than the long-distance non-dialogue would suggest, since Haig is primarily interested in determining whether cooperation with Moscow is still possible. In preparation for the sessions, he held a rehearsal over the weekend, with a veteran State Department official who has watched Gromyko in action playing the Soviet and asking questions he is likely to raise. The Secretary has decided to be sober and businesslike in presenting U.S. complaints, on the logical ground that there is little prospect of cowing a wily old diplomatic pro who has dealt with seven of Haig's predecessors. (In 1943, when Haig was still a student at Notre Dame, Gromyko presented his credentials to F.D.R. as Soviet Ambassador to Washington.)



Secretary of State Alexander Haig in Bonn

In his *tour d'horizon*, Haig is expected to recite the Administration's now familiar bill of particulars about Soviet misbehavior. High on the list are the continuing arms buildup that threatens to upset the global military balance; Soviet support for terrorism through Libya, Cuba and the Palestine Liberation Organization; the continued occupation of Afghanistan; and Soviet intervention in such Third World nations as Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen and Cambodia.

The Secretary will also tell Gromyko that U.S.-Soviet relations can improve only if Moscow stops trying to gain unilateral advantages on the world scene. Partly in preparation for his encounter, Haig presided over a still secret interagency study of U.S.-Soviet relations, which concluded that the new watchwords of the superpower relationship must be "restraint, reciprocity and linkage." Each term, as Haig may explain to Gromyko, puts the onus for improvement on Moscow

▸ The Soviets must restrain themselves from seizing geopolitical opportunities in the Third World

▸ They must realize that if they undermine U.S. clients, Washington will reciprocate by trying to make trouble for theirs —and, conversely, the Soviets must reciprocate any gestures of restraint by the U.S.

▸ Under the concept of linkage, the Soviets must accept that if they attempt to seek gains in one area, they will pay a price on other issues at the bargaining table.

Haig will also try to convince Gromyko that something fundamental has changed in the U.S.—namely, the Reagan Administration not only talks tougher than its predecessors, it is tougher. As evidence, the Secretary may cite the new military programs that the President has proposed.

Gromyko, of course, will bring his own list of grievances U.S. diplomats expect him to blame the Administration's systematically anti-Soviet line for ending the era of détente. He will object to the Senate's failure to ratify the SALT II treaty. He will accuse the U.S. of launching its own dangerous military buildup, in a futile effort to regain nuclear superiority

Gromyko

The Soviet Foreign Minister may not be persuaded by Haig. To the contrary, every passing month has provided evidence to the Kremlin that the Administration is having difficulty deciding who is in charge of policy. Already Gromyko and his colleagues have seen Reagan dither over deployment of the MX missile and back away from souped-up charges of Soviet-inspired meddling in El Salvador. Finally, the Soviets are encouraged by an outbreak of pacifist sentiment in Western Europe that could undermine the already precarious support there for deployment of new missiles. Haig's visit to West Berlin last week elicited some of the worst anti-American rioting since the Viet Nam War.

The European missile problem is the single most pressing item on the Haig-Gromyko agenda. In 1979 the U.S. persuaded its NATO allies to install 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles to counter the threat posed by the Soviet Union's buildup of mobile, multiwarhead SS-20 missiles. To placate domestic opposition, the Europeans posed a key condition: that the U.S. and the Soviet Union launch negotiations to reduce the awesome nuclear arsenal on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Ideally, as West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt explained to Haig in Bonn last week, the Soviets should dismantle some of the 250 SS-20s already in place, thereby eliminating any need for new NATO missiles. Few experts believe Moscow is ready to do so, despite its oft-proclaimed willingness to start theater nuclear force (TNF) negotiations.

Thus the Haig-Gromyko meeting may be, in the words of Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies Kremlinologist Dimitri Simes, "a battle for the hearts and minds of Europe." By casting the Soviet Union as a patient, long-suffering peacemaker trying to reach agreement with an erratic, bellicose U.S., Moscow hopes to weaken European support for the new U.S. weapons. The Soviets argue that the SS-20s only replace older SS-4 and SS-5 missiles, while the new U.S. missiles would increase the vulnerability of their territory. "It would take NATO 4½ minutes to hit the Soviet Union from European bases," retired General Svyatoslav Kozlov told TIME Moscow Bureau Chief Erik Amfitheatrof last week, "whereas it would take Soviet rockets more than 20 minutes to reach the U.S." Haig is under pressure to convince the Western Europeans of American commitment to negotiations. Although the Administration does not yet have a unified position on TNF, Haig will try to get from Gromyko an agree-

Today, the world is going our way.

AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS RETURNED. *In the1980s, the world is beginning to believe again in one of this country's strongest beliefs: if you work hard and do your job well, you will succeed.*

That idea is nothing new to Northwest Orient. In fact, it is the very cornerstone upon which we have built ourselves into one of the world's great airlines. Flying across North America, to Europe, the Orient and beyond; we connect 63 cities in 16 countries.

FINANCIAL STRENGTH. *Wall Street knows: for years Northwest Orient has been the most efficient and consistently profitable major U.S. airline.*

This profitability isn't just a measure of how well we run our airline—it's also the source of our future growth.

Our financial strength is allowing us to commit millions of dollars to new aircraft, a new reservations computer, new routes and new services. Now. At a time when many other airlines are concerned with heavy debt, older equipment and expensive frills.

A MODERN FUEL-EFFICIENT FLEET. *Unlike the other major U.S. airlines—we have the resources to own all 112 of our planes.*

Outright ownership gives us the freedom to stay young and fuel-efficient by selling off one Northwest Orient plane as "used equipment" and replacing it with a brand-new, more modern plane an average of every 57 days.

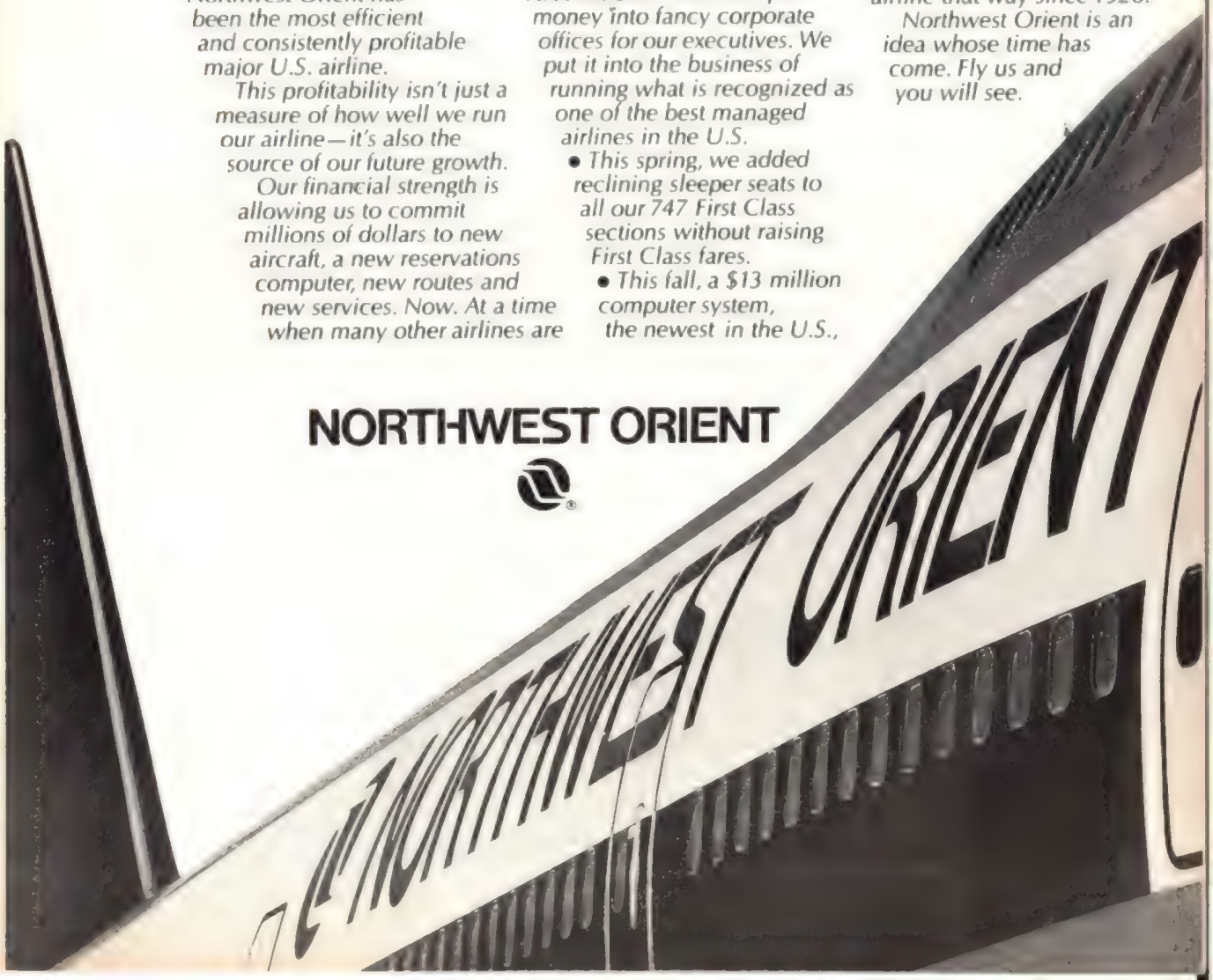
OUR WAY IS DIFFERENT. AND RIGHT. *We don't put money into fancy corporate offices for our executives. We put it into the business of running what is recognized as one of the best managed airlines in the U.S.*

- *This spring, we added reclining sleeper seats to all our 747 First Class sections without raising First Class fares.*
- *This fall, a $13 million computer system, the newest in the U.S., will cut the time it takes to book a Northwest Orient flight.*
- *Our fleet has one of the highest percentages of widecabin planes in the world. And we own more 747s than United, American and TWA combined.*

OUR WAY: IT'S THE WAY THE WORLD IS GOING. *No one has to look far to see the way to succeed in the 1980s. Return to the fundamentals that America taught the world. Work hard. Do it right. Do it better. We've been building a great worldwide airline that way since 1926.*

Northwest Orient is an idea whose time has come. Fly us and you will see.

NORTHWEST ORIENT



ment on a date and venue for preliminary talks.

Perhaps the most that can be expected from this week's session is that the two men may develop a rapport based on the understanding that—for everyone's good—the relationship between the two superpowers must improve. Says William Hyland, a former Kissinger staffer who is now a Soviet expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: "The real results of the meetings may take time to develop. They could set the tenor of superpower dealings for some time." *—By Henry Muller. Reported by Robert Suro and Strobe Talbott/Washington*

■ ■ ■

A particularly bitter battle in the war of words between Moscow and Washington centers on American charges that Soviet-backed forces in Southeast Asia have been using highly toxic biochemical weapons. Speaking in Berlin last week, Secretary Haig charged that "potent mycotoxins," superpoisons derived from grain molds and known to be produced by the Soviets, were found in the region. Experts at the State Department said that the toxins were isolated on a leaf from Cambodia, where the Soviet-backed government is fighting Khmer insurgents.

The Soviet news agency TASS called the allegations a "big lie." American officials answered that the evidence would be submitted to a United Nations panel investigating chemical weapons. Five additional samples from Southeast Asia are currently being analyzed, and officials think they will show that the toxins were also used in Laos. Intelligence specialists are seeking evidence to confirm widespread reports that Soviet forces have used the poisons, known as T_2 toxins, in Afghanistan.

A top deputy to Haig noted last week that the use of toxins is a violation of the 1925 Geneva Protocol on chemical and biological weapons and that their production is prohibited by the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention. Soviet technical journals, however, openly discuss methods for mass-producing mycotoxins. In a new book called *Yellow Rain*, Journalist Sterling Seagrave cites evidence that the Soviets first used T_2 during the Yemen civil war in the early 1960s. Military officials in Egypt, which was then a Soviet client, confirm that biochemical warfare equipment was deployed during that conflict. Seagrave also says that a biochemical weapons depot stocked with T_2 poisons has been set up by Soviet advisers in Cuba.

In 1969 President Nixon banned any U.S. production of biological weapons. Within the past two years, the Army has been granted $23 million for a factory in Pine Bluff, Ark., to manufacture "binary" chemical weapons, in which components of nerve gas are loaded separately into artillery shells and become lethal only upon explosion. Ronald Reagan, however, has yet to authorize production. ■

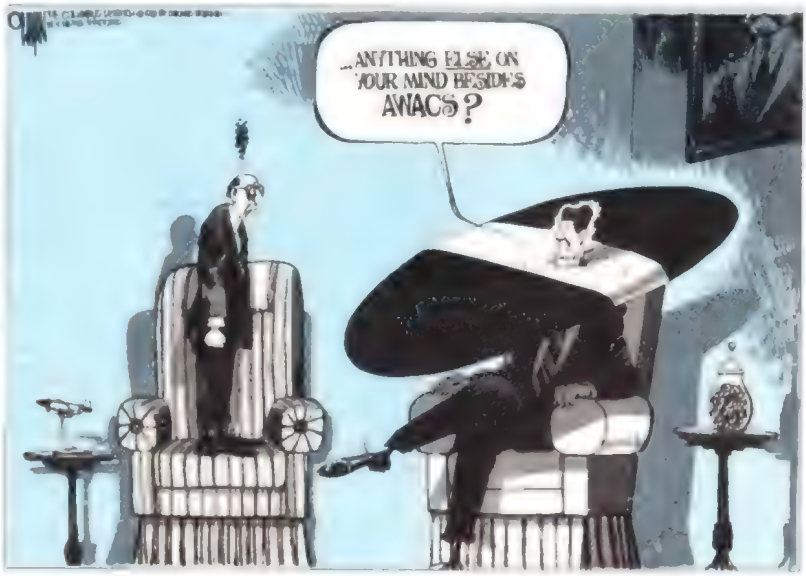
Arguing About Arabia's AWACS

Reagan faces a tough test of his credibility abroad

It is not only budget cuts: Ronald Reagan has got himself into a two-front war with Congress. Last week there were signs of hardening opposition on the Hill to the Administration's proposed $8.5 billion sale to Saudi Arabia of advanced military equipment, including five E-3A Sentries—computer-laden surveillance aircraft that carry Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS). Minority Leader Robert Michel told the President flatly that the deal is certain to be rejected by the House. Led by Republican Bob Packwood of Oregon and Democrat Henry Jackson of Washington, 50 Senators signed up as co-sponsors of a resolution disapproving the deal. Six other Senators were reportedly committed to vote against the sale, which can be blocked only if both houses disapprove.

The deal also involves Saudi purchase of Sidewinder missiles and fuel tanks for its F-15 jet fighters. But concern centers on the AWACS, which are capable of tracking planes and ships within a 250-mile range. Israel's friends in Congress believe the planes in Saudi hands would severely breach the security of the Jewish state. Opponents also contend that it is imprudent to give state-of-the-art military technology to a regime as potentially vulnerable to overthrow as the Riyadh monarchy.

The Administration appeared surprised by the strength of the opposition, but it is not about to give up. Said Chief White House Spokesman David Gergen last week: "Clearly, the President does not believe this is the end of the struggle. It's just the beginning." Secretary of State Alexander Haig strongly defended the deal in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He argued that the sale is essential to the improvement of U.S. relations with moderate Arab nations. "If our friends are more secure," he said, "they will be more able to take risks for peace." Just as Reagan has made the sale an issue of his own leadership and credibility abroad, the Saudis see the purchase as a matter of national honor. Said Haig: "To deny Saudi Arabia this basic means of self-defense is to deny it the sovereign status and respect essential to an enduring partnership."



Returning from his Europe trip, Haig met last week with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin at New York City's Kennedy Airport. Haig was particularly concerned that statements by Begin about the AWACS threat to Israel's security would influence Senate votes, and the exchange was said to be heated. In fact, the Administration contends that a solid understanding with the Saudis minimizes any threat to Israel, and TIME has learned some of the details. Among other things, the Saudis have agreed: 1) not to pass on information gained from the AWACS to other countries, nor to allow foreign nationals to work on the planes; 2) to permit the U.S. access to AWACS-gathered data even after American technicians are no longer manning the planes; 3) not to fly the AWACS planes outside their own airspace. As a final safety measure, the planes sold to the Saudis will lack certain electronic devices now used on U.S. and NATO AWACS, notably gear designed to defeat hostile jamming efforts. ■

TR7: $1000 REBATE *". . .what it really makes one wonder is why anyone would buy a Porsche 924 with a bargain of this magnitude lurking down at the Jaguar Rover Triumph store."* That's how *Car and Driver* described the 1980 TR7 convertible. Now the TR7 is even a better bargain with a big $1,000 factory rebate. Use it as a down payment or take it as a buyer's bonus. And drive away in this quick, responsive and dramatically styled 1980 convertible.

TR8: $1000 REBATE *"Nothing less than the reinvention of the sports car."* That's how *Car and Driver* defined the 1980 TR8. This all out performance machine has the reflexes, suspension and handling to match its vividly responsive engine. Now with this $1,000 factory rebate, it is one of the best high performance sports car buys on the market.

Jaguar Rover Triumph Inc.
Leonia, N.J. 07605

HURRY! OFFER IS FOR A LIMITED TIME ONLY.

CHICAGO
Lee Calan Imports, Inc.
5840 North Broadway
(312) 561-7583

Howard Orloff Imports, Inc.
4748 West Fullerton Avenue
(312) 227-3200

ELMHURST
Westlake Import Motors, Inc.
466 West Lake Street
(312) 833-7945

OAK PARK
Town & Country
Import Cars, Inc.
845 Madison Avenue
(312) 848-0550

PALATINE
A.C. Imports, Inc.
1420 West Northwest Hwy.
(312) 358-5750

WAUKEGAN
Fohrman Imports, Inc.
2725 Belvidere Road
(312) 336-3510

WESTMONT
C and E Imports, Ltd.
18 W. 160 Ogden Avenue
(312) 969-5507

WILMETTE
Imperial Motors
721 Green Bay Road
(312) 256-0606

WORTH
Ritter Bros., Ltd.
11425 So. Harlem Avenue
(312) 448-5822

"Funny what a little self-respect can do for a person..."

"Never again will I sit on the sidelines... I want to be in there, involved."

At Outward Bound® it's not just what you do, but how you feel about it afterwards that counts.

Our courses are tough–they're meant to be–but not beyond the reach of anyone who tries. They're fun. And safe as human ingenuity and experience can make them.

At Outward Bound we teach you outdoor skills. From winter camping to mountaineering. But we're also something of a course in self-reliance (a course in self-reliance where you also have to learn to trust *the group*).

Outward Bound will not teach you to be a man. Nearly half the students, for one, are women. Few are really athletes. Lots are over thirty. What you need is a bit of pluck, and the yen to spend some time in some of this country's most spectacular settings.

Everyone brings something different to Outward Bound and takes something different away. But whatever your experience–we guarantee it won't be trivial.

I'm Outward Bound!

For information and brochure:
800-243-8520

Outward Bound is a nonprofit, nondiscriminatory organization. Outward Bound National Office, 384 Field Point Rd., Greenwich, CT 06830.

To cut phone charges up to 30%, Midwestern business is moving to ROLM.

More than 550 companies in Chicago, St. Louis, Springfield, and Kansas City have gotten together on one phone. Rolm. And for good reason. A Rolm computerized business telephone system can cut your company's phone bill. Automatically. By as much as thirty per cent, each month.

How does Rolm come through?

- Through Route Optimization, the Rolm computer searches for and finds the least costly calling route, each time you make a long distance call.
- Through Toll Restriction, the Rolm computer can control unnecessary long distance privileges, at specific extensions.
- Through Call-Recording, Rolm provides you with a computerized breakdown of your phone charges, in detail. It's the information you need for cost-effective management.

And there's much more to Rolm's control over telephone charges for companies with 24 to 4,000 extensions. Find out, by calling Carol Rogers at (312) 644-1140. With a system designed to save you money, Rolm is moving into the office of the future, now.

ROLM Midwest

Business is moving to Rolm.

IMPORTED
WINDSOR
Supreme
CANADIAN
WINDSOR
ONE CANADIAN STANDS ALONE

Pulpit Bullies

Goldwater blasts New Right

Even before Barry Goldwater became his party's nominee for President in 1964, conservatives revered and respected the Senator from Arizona as the titular head of the Republican right. So it came as a rude shock to many of the faithful when Goldwater last week lashed out at the religious zealots of the New Right, most notably represented by the Moral Majority.

At an informal breakfast with reporters last week, Goldwater, 72, was asked for his views on the rise of the New Right. "I don't like what they're doing," he said. "I don't think what they're talking about is conservatism." Goldwater remarked that he had written a speech on the subject but had not yet found the right opportunity to deliver it. That afternoon he gave reporters copies and inserted it in the *Congressional Record*.

In the speech, Goldwater accused the Moral Majority and its kind of giving conservatism a bad name. "The religious issues of these groups [abortion, school prayer] have little or nothing to do with conservative or liberal politics," he said. "They are diverting us away from the vital issues that our Government needs to address," such as "national security and economic survival." To drag theological questions into public debate, in Goldwater's view, is dangerously un-American. Said he: "One of the great strengths of our political system always has been our tendency to keep religious issues in the background."

Goldwater said he finds the New Right's righteousness especially distasteful, even though he admits he shares many of their moral views. "The uncompromising position of these groups is a divisive element that could tear apart the very spirit of our representative system. I am warning them today: I will fight them every step of the way if they try to dictate their moral convictions to all Americans in the name of conservatism." Said Goldwater: "I'm frankly sick and tired of the political preachers across this country telling me as a citizen that if I want to be a moral person I must believe in A, B, C and D. Just who do they think they are?"

The Senator

One of those political preachers, the Rev. Jerry Falwell, founder of the Moral Majority, said he thought Goldwater was angry that the newly fundamentalist conservative movement had left him behind. "I still love him, respect him, pray for him," said Falwell, adding, "In his heart, he knows he's wrong." ■

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

The Quality of Command

One young aide to Ronald Reagan sat against a wall in the Cabinet Room, beneath Calvin Coolidge's portrait, and listened to the economic debate that was engulfing the White House last week. Senators, Congressmen and outside experts hammered away. Quit slicing at the regular appropriations, some said, and go after the big entitlements like Social Security. Chop more out of defense, argued others. Pay attention to Wall Street's warnings. Wall Street is an index of greed—attack it. Try the gold standard. Don't try the gold standard.

Reagan listened patiently to it all, even to the traces of panic brought down from the Hill by political hypochondriacs who see disaster in every adversity. Then he took over. First off, Reagan told his visitors, things were not so bad as they might seem in Washington and New York. Short-term interest rates were beginning to soften. And there would be more budget cuts. He looked around the table during one meeting, and for a second the warm mood faded. "Let's get one thing straight," he told his congressional visitors. "If budget-busting bills come down, I will veto them." After gathering his Cabinet officers for some exhortation and prayer, the President ordered them to stand fast. His benediction: "We knew it would never be easy."

Bryce Harlow with Nixon in the Oval Office (1973)

To the young White House aide in the Cabinet Room there was an echo from the past in that message. During his campaign and the transition, Ronald Reagan had constantly reminded his troops of the difficulty of nudging the Federal Government and its entrenched bureaucracy onto a new course. The important fact is that the President has not yet yielded in conviction or purpose, two ingredients of his early success. But now he seeks something more.

This Administration is being put to a real test for the first time. Reagan faces true adversity from events beyond the White House and from some doubts within. Bryce Harlow, who has wisely interpreted Washington for 40 years, believes that only at such times can one judge the mettle of a President. Harlow, who came to town a Democrat and turned Republican, served both Eisenhower and Nixon at the White House. Along the way, he concluded that successful leadership must harden into the quality of command if a President is going to prevail. That entails both taking political risks and abandoning the search for perfect solutions. "The White House is always filled with people with strong wills," explains Harlow. "They get along beautifully in success. But when they get into travail, these hard heads believe they are the only ones with the right answers, and that can end up in an internal struggle."

In times of trouble, it has been Harlow's observation, there are no absolutely correct answers to problems, only approximate ones. As he sees it, a President in command must hold his course, tell the dissenters to go to hell—if possible, making them like it—and inject a bit of fear into his adversaries. "World peace and economic health are the two issues before Reagan now," says Harlow. "The rest are dwarfed by them. The President is the whale and he cannot let himself be eaten by the guppies."

Harlow talks knowingly about the dynamics of crises. External threats, like Nikita Khrushchev's bullying of Ike after the Soviets shot down a U-2 spy plane in 1960, rally the nation and the Government round a President. In a major domestic crisis, like the Depression of the 1930s, Congress tends to quit and turn to the President to save the country, says Harlow. But in a moderate-size domestic crisis, such as the one we have now, Congress will, if allowed, obstruct and usurp the President.

All last week Ronald Reagan was reaching for command, shoving his people into line, tuning them up and marching them off against incipient doubt and fear. On Thursday, after giving each of his Cabinet members a specific assignment in his new campaign to restore economic confidence, he seemed to be talking as much to the nation as to that small cluster of officials when he said, "They still won't believe us, but we are going to balance this budget by 1984."

Serving Two Masters

William French Smith's Justice Department shapes up

Soft of voice and mild in manner, Attorney General William French Smith was chided by White House aides during his early months in office for sleepwalking through his job and being notably sluggish in guiding the Justice Department by the lights of Reagan philosophy. The Reaganites grumbled that the department was veering "out of control" and complained that Smith was failing to make his career bureaucrats toe the conservative line.

They need worry no longer. Smith is wide awake and has given marching orders to his department to execute a right face on a briefcase of issues ranging from civil rights to punishing federal employees for leaking information. "We're going to change policy sharply," promises Deputy Attorney General Edward C. Schmults, Smith's top assistant. "We've said it, and now you can see it happening." Adds a White House official: "The department is beginning to respond to Reagan policy."

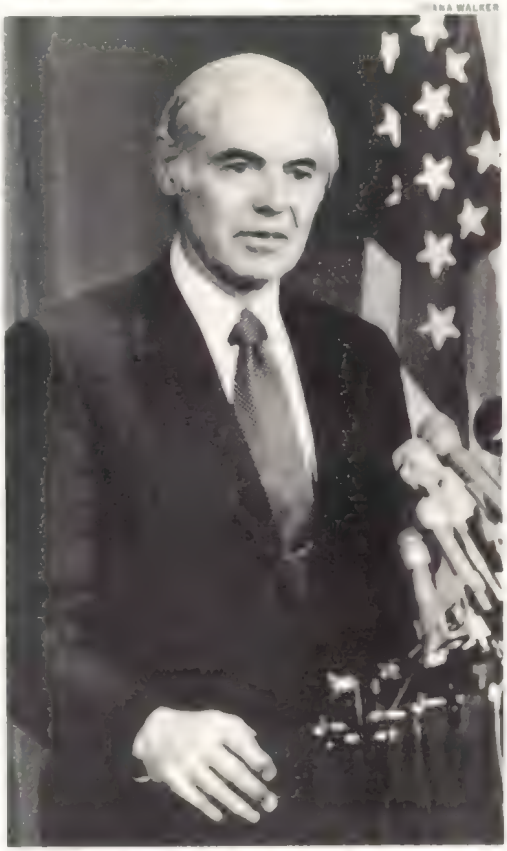
Nowhere is the shift more apparent than in the field of civil rights. In briefs before the Supreme Court two weeks ago, Solicitor General Rex E. Lee startled the legal community by arguing that there was no "federal interest" in the questions of whether states can exclude the children of illegal aliens from public schools and whether it is unconstitutional for the states to ban voluntary busing. Both positions mark an abrupt break from previous Administrations—Republican as well as Democratic—and the first retreat on civil rights enforcement since the Truman era. The department is also reviewing federal affirmative-action policies and has pledged not to seek hiring goals or quotas that might discriminate against whites

The Attorney General insists that he is still committed to enforcing civil rights laws and is only rejecting the traditional remedies of busing and quotas, which have become increasingly unpopular with the public. "Our goal is the same as our predecessors', to eliminate the vestiges of discrimination," says Smith. "We are just going about it in a different way." That way, he says, includes improving the quality of black schools instead of automatically seeking to integrate them, and seeking compensation for people who can prove they have been discriminated against by employers. But critics charge that Smith's way amounts to no way at all. "Improving black schools has the unpleasant aroma of separate-but-equal," says William Taylor, director of the Washington-based Center for National Policy Review. "That kind of rhetoric is gross hypocrisy from an Administration that is cutting school expenditures to the bone." Adds Democratic Senator Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio: "It's pitiful. Suddenly in one fell swoop this Administration turns the clock back on civil rights."

The department is shifting course on other important fronts. William Baxter, chief of the department's antitrust division, will ease the regulations on corporate mergers, and announced that only those couplings that hit the consumer with higher prices will be challenged. Smith is also seeking to trim the Freedom of Information Act and repeal the Ethics in Government Act's requirement that a special prosecutor be named when a high federal official is suspected of a crime. Moreover, the Attorney General last week abolished a set of guidelines adopted by the Carter Administration to limit Government lawsuits against "whistleblowers," federal employees who leak confidential Government information. Though it is still too early to tell how vigorously the Government will pursue leakers, civil libertarians are already up in arms.

Smith has declared that violent crime will be the Justice Department's top priority. Accordingly, the department this fall may push Congress for a federal death penalty; a loosening of the "exclusionary rule" that makes illegally obtained evidence inadmissible at trials; and stricter bail laws, including the right to refuse bail to "dangerous" offenders. Complains Ira Glasser, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union: "These measures will harm civil liberties without having any impact on crime."

While the Reagan Administration has been winning praise and headlines for nominating Sandra Day O'Connor to be the first female Supreme Court Justice, almost all the federal judges the department has been recruiting are white and male. Of the 47 judges selected so far, only one is black and two are women. Jimmy Carter, by contrast, chose 41 women and 37 blacks among his 281 federal judges. While policies change from President to President, federal judges serve for life, and helping send a large corps of judicial conservatives to the bench may end up as Smith's most lasting contribution to Reaganism



IRA WALKER

The Attorney General fielding reporters' questions

"Sometimes we get caught in the crossfire."

The Justice Department is, of course, only promulgating what Reagan believes he was elected to do, and the men who now run the department are not raving ideologues. "There are no James Watts here," says one Justice official. The Attorney General is decidedly not as contentious and highly visible as the Interior Secretary: courtly and cautious. Smith is more accustomed to serving discreetly the large corporations that made up his client list at the Los Angeles law firm of Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher than to making controversial political decisions. He shuns notoriety, and in his first months in Washington his fondness for black-tie dinners and cocktail parties seemed to land him on the society pages more often than his official acts put him on the front pages. After eight months on the job, however, Smith seems more confident, and vehemently denies he ever lost control of his domain. "That's nonsense," he says. "We're doing precisely what we set out to do." Indeed, the department has been slow to embrace Reaganism partly because it is obliged to enforce existing laws as well as carry out Administration policy. Smith is sensitive to these twin duties. "Sometimes we get caught in the crossfire," he admits. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that Smith, who was Reagan's personal attorney for 15 years before joining the Justice Department, will serve his old client well. —*By James Kelly. Reported by Evan Thomas/Washington*

As Mindy grows, so do we...

with leadership brands.

In packaged foods, casual footwear, children's apparel, cosmetics, fragrances, health and beauty products, Chesebrough-Pond's brands are the names Americans trust and turn to—day in, day out. This has helped us increase our sales and earnings for 25 years straight—and pay dividends without interruption since 1883.

For an independent investment analysis, call your stockbroker.

Chesebrough-Pond's Inc.

Vaseline Intensive Care · Rave · Prince Matchabelli · Ragu
Bass · Pond's · Vaseline · Adolph's
Health-tex · Aziza · Q-tips · Cutex

THESE BRAND NAMES ARE REGISTERED TRADEMARKS OF CHESEBROUGH PONDS, INC. AND ITS DIVISIONS

Consistent profitable growth... through leadership brands.

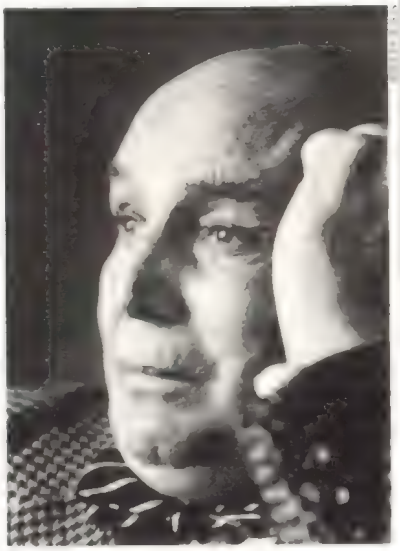
The Front-Page Fulminator

William Loeb: 1905-1981

Every four years, like a recurring nightmare, the cherubic visage and satanic fulminations of William Loeb, cantankerous, ultraconservative publisher of the Manchester, N.H., *Union Leader*, would turn up on the front pages of newspapers across the country. As aspiring Presidents trooped up to New Hampshire for the nation's earliest presidential primary, Loeb's relatively small daily (circ. 65,298) became an influential voice in American politics. That voice was Loeb's alone: petulant, scurrilous and unfailingly infuriating. For more than thirty years, Loeb put his splenetic opinions where no one could miss them: in boldface type on the front page of the *Union Leader*, which, at his death last week at 75, was still New Hampshire's largest—and only statewide—daily. His editorials were often headlined in red and blue, but his beliefs were black and white. Said he: "Things are either right or they are wrong."

When it came to presidential politics, Loeb was egalitarian in his prejudices: he treated virtually all Presidents and would-be Presidents with derision. His vituperation began with Harry "General Incompetence" Truman. In 1957 he labeled Dwight Eisenhower a "stinking hypocrite" for snubbing Red-baiting Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy, a Loeb hero. In 1961 he declared John Kennedy to be "the No. 1 liar in the United States."

Loeb's most notorious attack came during the 1972 presidential campaign. The *Union Leader* published a spurious letter claiming that Democratic Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine laughed at an ethnic slur aimed at Franco-Americans, and an item suggesting that Muskie's wife was overly fond of cocktails. The candidate's tearful denunciation of Loeb outside the *Union Leader* offices, captured on network television, was thought to have doomed Muskie's presidential chances.



The publisher in his Manchester office, 1979

An influential voice in American politics.

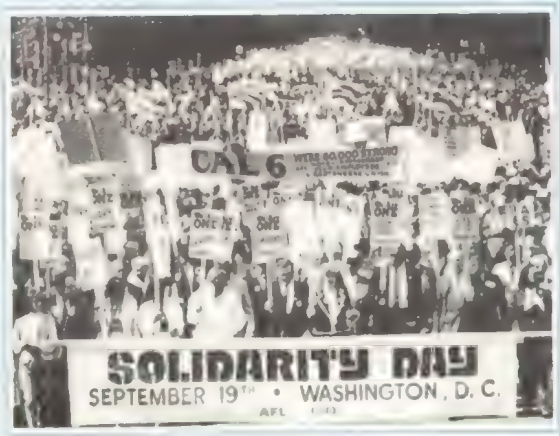
If Loeb showed disdain for many presidential candidates, it may have been that he measured them against the one he considered his mentor, Theodore Roosevelt. Loeb's father, William Jr., was Roosevelt's private secretary when William III was born in 1905. After Roosevelt's final term, the Loeb family moved with him to Oyster Bay, L.I., and young William grew up in the reflected glory of the old Rough Rider. Loeb attended Connecticut's Hotchkiss School, Massachusetts' Williams College and then spent two years at the Harvard Law School.

With money borrowed from his mother, he bought the St. Albans, Vt., *Messenger* in 1941. Five years later, he bought a share in the *Union Leader* and took full control in 1948.

Loeb inconsistently practiced what he published. He was ardently militaristic, yet he strenuously, and successfully, avoided military service in World War II. He once condemned Nelson Rockefeller as a "wife swapper" for divorcing his wife and marrying a divorcee—precisely what the twice-divorced Loeb himself did in 1952, when he shed his second wife to wed Nackey Scripps, granddaughter of Newspaper Tycoon E.W. Scripps. He advocated that a publisher should have only one newspaper, yet for years he owned and controlled four. He became a major force in New Hampshire politics, handpicking Senators and Governors. Yet he phoned in his editorials from a 30-room mansion in Prides Crossing, Mass., 50 miles from Manchester, and claimed Nevada as his legal residence to avoid paying Massachusetts income taxes.

Loeb's tangled finances were a source of damaging ammunition for his critics. He borrowed $2 million from the Teamsters' Central States Pension Fund in 1965, and thereafter became a vociferous defender of jailed Teamster President Jimmy Hoffa. In 1979 he vowed that he would place 75% of his newspaper stock in trust for his employees. But in his will, control of the paper goes to Nackey, now 56, and after her death to a nine-member board of trustees.

Loeb seldom let accuracy stand in the way of his prejudices. The masthead of the *Union Leader* featured the axiom of Daniel Webster: "Nothing is so powerful as truth." Loeb typically failed to inform his readers that the quotation was taken out of context. "There is nothing so powerful as truth," said Webster, "and often nothing so strange." ■



Voting with Their Feet

They came by car, by train (but not by plane, in deference to the striking air controllers), in thousands of chartered buses and even on the city's Metro, which was free to all riders for the day. They gathered in Washington last Saturday for a protest rally of a size and vehemence not seen since the antiwar marches of a decade ago. The event was billed as Solidarity Day and organized by the AFL-CIO, which "rented" the subway for $65,000. On hand were more than 250,000 union members, civil rights activists, environmentalists and others enraged by Ronald Reagan's policies. While the President relaxed at Camp David, the crowd marched down Constitution Avenue to the Capitol and then cheered when speaker after speaker denounced the Administration. As National Urban League President Vernon Jordan proclaimed: "We won't stand still when our programs are gutted, our jobs taken away and our dreams deferred."

THE LOWEST TAR OF ALL.

Box

Of all brands sold, no other cigarette is lower in tar.

Cambridge

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

© Philip Morris Inc. 1981

Less than 0.1 mg "tar," 0.01 mg nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC Method.

A Grand Hail to an Ex-Chief

Gerald Ford comes home again to open a museum in his honor

When he was the nation's 38th President, Gerald Rudolph Ford acquired an unwanted, and perhaps undeserved, reputation for stumbling, bumbling and bumping his head upon leaving presidential aircraft. So it was entirely fitting that, stepping off Air Force One to greet Ford in his home town of Grand Rapids, the 40th President collided with the 38th and almost stumbled down the top step. Once on the right foot, the ceremonial opening of the Ford museum last week was a fitting tribute to the man who helped rescue the honor of the American presidency from the ignominy of Watergate. Said Ronald Reagan of the man who has been both his rival and ally: "Gerald Ford healed America because he understood the adventure of America: her way of governing, her people, and the source of her strength as a nation."

To the banks of the Grand River came leaders from around the world to offer their respects: President José Lopez Portillo of Mexico, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada, former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France, Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda of Japan, and even the emperor of Hollywood, Bob Hope. There were fireworks and fishing contests, viewings of the Gerald Ford stamp collection, and a $1,000-a-plate dinner of chicken breast complemented by Michigan wine (Tabor Hill Winery's Vidal Semi-Blanc).

The museum itself, a $11 million steel and concrete triangle, prompted some to joke that there were not enough memorabilia from Ford's brief 30 months in office to hang on four walls. That is hardly a problem. The political odyssey of the Eagle Scout from Grand Rapids is represented by full-size replicas of the Oval Office and the Quonset hut from which he ran his first, successful, campaign for Congress in 1948. Among the treasures: Ford's typed pardon of Predecessor Richard Nixon, an aide's memo suggesting that he not keep Alexander Haig as Chief of Staff, and a copy of the Declaration of Independence made out of Campbell's alphabet soup noodles. Said a jubilant Ford of his special day: "They say you can't go home again. They're wrong." ■

Portrait of an extended family: The Reagans and Fords seated in front of Bob Hope, Japan's Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda, Mexican President Lopez Portillo, Barbara Bush and the Vice President, Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau, former French President Giscard d'Estaing and Lady Bird Johnson. The Reagans and Ford in the replica of the Oval Office and, below left, Ford showing his guests the museum

Hope and Betty Ford, left, at the gala on the eve of the dedication. Reagan and Ford check watches inside the museum as Bush and Giscard wait for the ceremony

There are people more famous we insure. But none more important.

The man running the truck in the picture may need less insurance than the man running the construction company. But he's no less in need of expert advice for personal auto or homeowners insurance.

That's why when people come to an independent Travelers agent or broker, they receive the personal attention and service they need and deserve, regardless of the size of the premiums.

Just look up the name of an independent Travelers agent or broker in the Yellow Pages.

At The Travelers, we believe that our concern for you as an individual is one of the important reasons why we are one of the world's largest insurance companies.

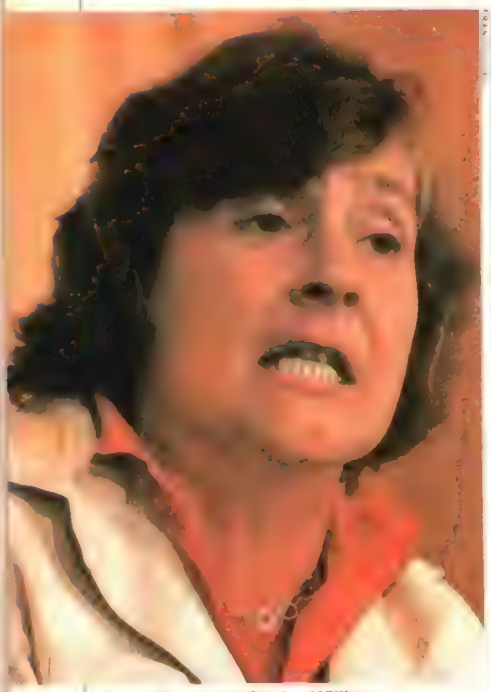
THE TRAVELERS

We offer life, health, auto, and homeowners insurance and mutual funds and variable annuities for individuals, and virtually all forms of insurance for businesses. The Travelers Insurance Company, The Travelers Indemnity Company, Travelers Equities Sales Inc., and other Affiliated Companies of The Travelers Corporation, Hartford, Connecticut 06115.

BRITAIN

Turmoil Right and Left

Thatcher purges, Labor fissions, and here come the Social Democrats



Social Democrat Shirley Williams

The London *Sun* called it "Maggie's Monday Massacre," and it indeed turned out to be a purification rite more sweeping in its execution than the experts had anticipated. In a ruthless purge of her Cabinet last week, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher cast aside dissenters from her strict monetarist economic policies and replaced them with unstinting loyalists to her stern anti-inflation credo. The action further split her already deeply divided Tory party and set the stage for a political season of unrivaled tumult and upheaval.

British politics as a whole was in a rich and rare state of disarray, only in part caused by the country's critical economic condition. Even as the Conservatives were digging in deeper on the right, the opposition Labor Party was in danger of being hijacked by its extreme left. Laborites were preparing for a bruising and perhaps fateful showdown this Sunday between the extremists and its old-line socialist faithful at the party conference in Brighton. Meanwhile the new Social Democratic Party, formed last March when a group of prominent Laborites broke away because of the party's leftward lurch, forged an alliance last week with the centrist Liberal Party. Object: to capture the moderate middle, Parliament and No. 10 Downing Street.

The next general election could still be as far as two years off, but the notion of an alliance victory no longer seems farfetched. The latest Market & Opinion Research International poll showed such a Social Democratic–Liberal coalition getting a 41% approval rating. By contrast, Labor trailed with only 31%, and the Conservatives received a mere 25%, the lowest rating registered for any ruling party since Labor hit its nadir during the 1976 monetary crisis.

The reasons for the Tory woes were obvious enough. The grim economic statistics showed no sign of the turnaround that was supposed to follow from Thatcher's austerity measures. Unemployment is now close to the 3 million mark, or 12.2% of the work force, the highest since the worst Depression years of the 1930s. Yet inflation, which last week jumped to 11.5%, has not yet been "wrung out" of the economy, and that was the chief aim of Thatcher's monetarism. North Sea oil revenues have suffered from the international oil glut, and much of the treasury's eroded bonanza has had to pay for unemployment benefits. The fiercest riots in Britain in a century exploded last summer in cities throughout the country, reflecting not only deep racial problems but the bitter resentment of the young who could not find work.

Tory Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher

As her difficulties mounted, Thatcher budged, but only by moving further to the right. She coolly sacked three of the party grandees in her Cabinet and pushed out the popular Conservative Party chairman, shuffled around six other senior ministers, elevated three loyalists to the Cabinet, then fired four junior ministers. In all, 40 posts were involved in the shakeup. Out went Lord Soames, the leader of the House of Lords, Winston Churchill's son-in-law and a pillar of the Tory establishment, who as the last governor-general of Rhodesia had brought plaudits to the Thatcher government by skillfully guiding the former colony through its elections and emergence as independent Zimbabwe. Thatcher, who felt that Soames had ineptly handled a three-week civil servant strike, replaced him with Baroness Young, a life peeress and a personal friend, who becomes the first woman to hold the job.

Labor M.P. Tony Benn

Labor Deputy Leader Denis Healey

Also fired were Sir Ian Gilmour, a haughty and intellectual aristocrat who was Deputy Foreign Secretary, and Education Secretary Mark Carlisle. Both men had expressed doubts about Thatcher's economic policies. Afterward Gilmour confessed that he had written his resignation a month ago in the full expectation that he would be fired. "Every Prime Minister has to reshuffle from time to time," he said in his resignation broadside. "It does no harm to throw the occasional man overboard, but it does not do much good if you are steering full speed ahead for the rocks." Humphrey Atkins, a Thatcher loyalist who has been unable to ease tension in Ulster as Northern Ireland Secretary, was elevated to fill Gilmour's post, while Sir Keith Joseph, the ineffectual Minister of Industry, was moved over to Education.

The most controversial ouster, however, was the firing of Employment Secretary James Prior, the nemesis of the Tory right wing, who had urged Thatcher to ease up on the trade unions. An extremely popular M.P. who acted as a lightning rod for disaffected Tory backbenchers, Prior had even won praise from Labor Party Leader Michael Foot as "a good man fell among monetarists." When Thatcher summoned her ministers to No. 10 Downing Street, she told Prior that he could have the thankless job of Northern Ireland Secretary—or nothing. After some hesitation he accepted the post. The choice of Norman Tebbit, a blunt-spoken former airline pilot and staunch right-winger, as Prior's replacement signaled a toughening government stance toward the unions. Amid speculation that Tebbit would move swiftly, starting with an attack on the closed shop, he insisted he would be rational: "I am a hawk but I'm not a kamikaze."

Next day Thatcher brought in still more hard-liners to second-level positions, tilting the ideological balance even further to the right. Declared Shirley Williams, one of the Social Democrats' four leaders: "She has replaced the Cabinet with an echo chamber." There was a simultaneous shudder in the financial markets. The Bank of England raised minimum interest rates two points overnight, from 12% to 14%. The move was made to strengthen the pound, which slid precipitously to $1.76 (down from $2.45 just a year ago), but it will also fuel inflation and make the single-digit target even more remote. The Prime Minister then let it be known that she was proceeding with her austerity program: Britain's 4 million public employees, ranging from teachers to trashmen, will be offered an average of only 4% in the coming round of wage negotiations. At the present rate of inflation, that would mean a sharp drop in real income.

The announcement was greeted with contemptuous outrage from the unions, and stirred speculation that Thatcher had made a studied gamble to confront the unions head-on this winter. Since last winter's public service settlements stayed close to the government-ordered 6% —and negotiations turned out to be relatively conciliatory—she may have concluded that workers are too afraid of losing their jobs to chance long strikes. But one of the first unions up to the bargaining table this time will be the tough mine workers, who enjoy strong public support and whose 1974 confrontation with the Tory government of Edward Heath caused the government to fall. Declared Union Vice President Mick McGahey last week: "The miners will be pursuing their legitimate claim for a 25% increase relentlessly." Warned M.P. John Hunt, a Tory moderate: "What very much worries me is that another winter of discontent and industrial warfare between unions and government could lead to a new outbreak of violence in the deprived urban areas, which could together sorely strain the social fabric of our democratic society."

Labor might be able to take better advantage of Thatcher's stern policies if it were not locked in another of its own confrontations, this time over the party's election for deputy leader at the upcoming Brighton conference. The office itself is insignificant, but it has become the battleground for the latest round of bitter left-right struggle. M.P. Tony Benn, 56, who gave up his peerage in 1963 and became a beguiling proletarian radical, is taking on the incumbent, Denis Healey, 64, a distinguished moderate. Benn has minimal support from his colleagues in the House of Commons, even those who share his commitment to total socialism and neutralism. But the far left has organized brilliantly, and of late has made inroads into the unions that have traditionally been aligned with party moderates.

The Healey side maintains that much of Benn's support comes from Marxists and other radicals who are not bona fide Laborites. They do not accuse Benn of being Marxist himself, a label he rejects, but there is little doubt that he has become a point man for Marxist groups. Benn's left would take Britain out of the European Community, unilaterally scrap all of Britain's nuclear weapons and bar U.S. cruise missiles from British soil. It would abolish the House of Lords, nationalize all important industries and redistribute the nation's wealth. "If we stick to our guns, if we are not diverted," Benn urges his supporters, "we have it in our power in this year 1981 to take the first step forward to bring socialism in our time."

Last week Shadow Cabinet Home Secretary Roy Hattersley, Healey's chief strategist, warned that the left's attempt to take control of the party manifesto "will alienate millions of our supporters, tearing the party into tatters and denying us the electoral victory the country needs." Noted the London *Observer:* "A fundamental battle about the nature of the Labor movement is now joined, with not only its policies but its whole direction within the body politic at issue."

If Benn wins this year or next, his election will affect not only the Labor Party. Large numbers of Labor voters—as well as some Labor M.P.s—could be expected to defect to the Social Democrats, who are already the most potent new force to arrive on the British political scene since the Labor Party itself was formed in 1900. The S.D.P. was founded last spring by the so-called Gang of Four—former Labor Cabinet Ministers Williams, Roy Jenkins, David Owen and William Rodgers—after longstanding differences between Labor's left and right wings finally seemed irreconcilable. The Social Democrats now have only 16 M.P.s—15 disaffected La-

Conservative Britons scouting job prospects: If the economy stays down, can the Conservatives stay up?

borites and one ex-Tory—but have built up wide public support for their moderate views. Party leaders endorse British membership in the European Community, nuclear defense and a mixed economy. What the fledgling party lacks in grass-roots organization it more than makes up for in political skills. To the surprise of even its own leadership, Jenkins nearly won a traditionally safe Labor seat in a by-election in July.

Last week the S.D.P. made another smart move: party leaders attended the Liberal Party's conference in Wales and there agreed to form an alliance to fight the next election. The Liberals, who have not held power alone since 1915, have only eleven M.P.s (out of 635), but they polled 14% of the vote in the general election of 1979. The marriage with the S.D.P. may have been one of convenience rather than passion, but if the two parties had remained separate they would have canceled each other out scrambling for the key centrist vote.

At the meeting with the Liberals, Williams roused the audience with a stirring plea for unity. "We shall never be forgiven—nor should we be," she said, "if we allow struggles over personalities or the pursuit of advantage for one party over the other to deflect us from our purpose." The alliance, she said, would be "nothing less than a new beginning for Britain and our battered and unhappy world."

Putting the alliance into practice will be difficult. The two parties will have to decide which will field the candidates in the promising constituencies in the next election and figure out how to make their policies compatible. Next day, for example, the Liberals voted to bar nuclear weapons from British soil—a unilateralist position the S.D.P. strongly opposes. Asked if the alliance could work together in an election if it were divided on an issue as important as defense, Williams said: "We could not campaign on the [Liberal] policy, but I believe that a compromise will be agreed upon." Liberal Party Leader David Steel, in fact, promptly disavowed the vote against the nuclear weapons.

The Social Democrats were delighted with the week's developments. Marveled the S.D.P.'s Rodgers: "Nobody six months ago would have believed this possible. Now we have an alliance with every expectation—and certainly the intention—of forming the next government."

Thatcher's obdurate policies and the threat from Labor's radical left clearly benefit the Social Democratic-Liberal alliance. But there is still time for the economy to respond to the Iron Lady's will, still time for the shattered Labor Party to find its way back to the path of responsible moderation. As last week so clearly showed, the battle for Britain is just beginning. *—By Marguerite Johnson. Reported by Bonnie Angelo/London*

Union delegates at the national convention earlier this month that aroused the Soviets' ire

POLAND

The Bear Growls Back

Irked by Solidarity's independence, Moscow issues a warning

So far it was only a war of words, but it was heating up with alarming ferocity. In its harshest warning to date to Poland's Communist leaders, Moscow last week declared that an "unbridled" campaign of "rabid propaganda" against the Soviet Union had been allowed to reach "dangerous limits" with impunity. Delivered personally to Polish Party Boss Stanislaw Kania by Soviet Ambassador Boris Aristov, the message called on Warsaw to take "radical steps" to curb the "malicious propaganda and actions hostile toward the Soviet Union."

Warsaw's authorities lost no time in launching their own get-tough campaign —at least on paper. After two emergency meetings last week, the Council of Ministers published a statement accusing Solidarity of seeking to seize political power in Poland. To prove that charge, Polish authorities cited the resolutions adopted a week earlier at Solidarity's national convention in Gdansk. The union had called for self-management of industrial enterprises by the workers, free democratic elections and the emergence of independent labor movements throughout the Soviet bloc. The last resolution was presumably the main source of the "anti-Sovietism" complained of by Moscow. The Council of Ministers' statement ended with an ominous vow to undertake "definite measures" for the "defense of socialism." A similar Politburo communiqué had previously warned of a "possible confrontation threatening bloodshed."

But Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa and his fellow union leaders refused to be intimidated. Instead, Solidarity's National Commission charged the Polish Politburo with "a lack of realism" and rejected the official "scenario of provocation." Once again, the scene seemed to be set for a showdown, with the Soviets waiting none too patiently in the wings.

Many Western experts doubted that the Soviet message meant that an invasion was imminent. But it was unclear what "radical steps" Moscow expected the Poles to take. Short of declaring martial law, a drastic event that could cause a massive civil uprising, Polish authorities could presumably start suppressing Solidarity's publications, banning union meetings and even arresting people accused of "anti-Soviet" attacks. All of these acts have in fact already occurred in scattered instances. But in the present atmosphere, any case of local repression could balloon into a major confrontation.

A crucial test of wills could take place this week as Solidarity delegates gather in Gdansk on Sept. 26 for the second half of their national convention. Walesa and his fellow moderates are hoping to rein in union radicals. The argument for moderation was indirectly strengthened, in fact, by Pope John Paul II's encyclical on trade unions that many observers interpreted in part as a veiled warning to Solidarity not to become too politicized (*see* RELIGION).

But the Gdansk convention may never take place. Under pressure from Moscow, Polish authorities might try to bar delegates from entering the hall, or even try to evict them once inside. That could well spark the violence that has painstakingly been avoided for the past year. At week's end, there was still hope for some compromise. After all, the Poles had worked themselves out of similar impasses before. But Walesa, who was nominated last week for the 1981 Nobel Peace Prize, will have his hands full trying to keep his increasingly contrary countrymen calm. ■

Fed Up with the Food Fight

Forced to queue endlessly for supplies, the Poles are boiling

As Warsaw's bosses and leaders of the Solidarity union federation squared off for another possible showdown last week, millions of Poles waged their frustrating daily battle, waiting in lines up to half a mile long to buy food and basic necessities for their families. TIME *Eastern Europe Correspondent Richard Hornik reports from Warsaw:*

It is 4 a.m. The sun will not rise for almost three hours, but already the line has begun to form in front of the austere, dimly lit shop. A panel truck pulls up to the rear entrance, and two burly workers, their white smocks spattered with red stains, deliver their precious cargo: a day's supply of meat. Within three hours, the choicest cuts—pork chops, ham, boneless beef—will be gone. The late arrivals will have to make do with sausage, soup bones or chicken. Or perhaps nothing at all.

Those waiting in line, mostly working women or elderly pensioners, stand grim-faced, speaking little and frequently checking the time. If they wait too long in the meat line, they may find no fresh bread, milk or cheese. Some shoppers solve this problem by having someone hold a place for them in one line while they scurry over to another shop and queue up for something else. That tactic has its risks. If the first line moves too fast, the shopper might find that he has lost his place when he gets back.

The mood in the queues, once one of good-natured resignation, has soured in recent months as the food shortages have become more acute. As far back as anybody can remember, invalids, pregnant women and mothers with infants always received unquestioned priority. No longer. Now those who head for the special "line on the left" are often pelted with insults—or worse. "Who told you to get pregnant now?" snapped a middle-aged woman last week as a young mother-to-be entered a butcher shop in downtown Warsaw. "Here comes the little cripple," muttered another shopper as a handicapped woman hobbled toward the counter. "She'll probably skip home when she gets around the corner."

The government officially maintains that the average Pole spends four hours queuing up each day. That estimate drew derisive laughter from most shoppers. Says one retired woman: "I spend half my time in lines. I do all the shopping for my daughter and her family." Indeed, the elderly are one of the Polish family's most valuable assets, since they have more free time for waiting in line.

But working people, too, must make time for shopping. Maria, 44, a clerk in a Warsaw office, explains that she and her five co-workers take turns in the lines throughout the day. "We buy for each other," she says. "If someone does not come back in two hours, then another person goes out and takes his place in line." Such creative absenteeism, however, hampers the nation's productivity and thus aggravates the problem of shortages. Moans Zygmunt Szeliga, deputy editor of the weekly *Polityka*: "People cannot work because they have to stand in line, and they have to stand in line because people are not working. It's a vicious circle."

Perhaps the most infuriating aspect of the whole maddening charade is that all the hours of queuing do not begin to satisfy the shopper's needs. In the first place, purchases are limited by a strict rationing system that allows the average Pole a monthly allotment of only 6½ lbs. of meat, 2 lbs. of sugar, 2 lbs. of flour, 10 oz. of detergent, twelve packs of cigarettes and a pint of vodka. That, as a gray-haired Warsaw pensioner wryly notes, is "too little to live on and too much to die from."

Moreover, the shopper who hands his 2-in. by 3-in. ration coupon to a clerk is never sure whether even that meager allotment will be available. Many Poles never got their full share of meat last month. In spite of rationing, supplies of detergent and cigarettes have also fallen short of demand. Says one Warsaw woman: "I am 75, and I remember rationing under the Nazis. At least then you could be sure of getting what you had coupons for."

With the state-run supply system on the verge of collapse, most Poles must turn to alternate sources for food and other scarce items. Those with friends or relatives abroad may get some of what they need via parcel post. Others resort to barter: a mechanic might trade two quarts of motor oil to a salesgirl for a pound of coffee; in Silesia, the miners are reportedly trading coal to farmers for meat. For exorbitant prices, or hard Western currency, almost anything can be gotten on the black market. Sample prices: blue jeans, $180; one pint of vodka, $24.

More affordable to the average Pole are the so-called free markets, which the government traditionally has ignored. These extralegal bazaars are operated as private enterprises by farmers or nimble entrepreneurs who offer abundant quantities of fruits and vegetables at prices slightly higher than the state stores. A free-market egg costs about 40¢, for example, compared with 30¢ for one in a state store. The more wealthy city dweller may drive out into the country and buy meat directly and illegally from a farmer. One Gdansk bureaucrat admits that he and a neighbor buy whole pigs and then salt the meat down in barrels. Such stratagems have become so common that the government last month prohibited the sale of meat outside state stores. Reason: farmers were refusing to sell their pigs to the government at the official price of $1.30 per lb. when they could get half again as much from individuals.

Shoppers lining up for strawberries and fresh produce at a Warsaw "free market"

Packages from abroad, visits to friendly farmers and sprees on the black market to get by.

By dint of sacrifice and subterfuge, the Poles scrape by somehow, and no one is starving. Families save their coupons for ham or pork on Sunday or buy on the black market. Says Stanislaw Szczepanski, Vice Minister of Agriculture: "To Poles, a meal is not a meal without a piece of pork. It is a matter of status." Those who cannot get meat make do on Sunday with *pierogi*, pastry stuffed with a kind of cottage cheese.

But the Poles are becoming increasingly angered by the unending struggle for food that dominates their lives. Snapped one middle-aged woman waiting outside a Warsaw fish market last week: "I am sick of talking about these lines. That is all people do. When is somebody going to do something about them?" ■

TERRORISM

Return of the Red Army Faction

West Germany's leftist urban guerrillas ambush a U.S. general

As the commander of the 200,000-strong U.S. Army forces in Europe, General Frederick J. Kroesen, 58, knew he had become a prime target in the anti-American campaign waged by West German terrorists. Barely a month ago, the mild-mannered general finally heeded pleas by West German police to exchange his American limousine for an armor-plated Mercedes.

Kroesen

That act of precaution saved Kroesen's life. As he was being driven to his headquarters in Heidelberg one morning last week, the green, unmarked limousine rolled up to a red traffic light beside the Neckar River, less than a mile from his office. Kroesen was in back with his wife Rowene. A West German police driver and the general's aide, Major Philip E. Bodine, occupied the front seats. Just before the car came to a stop, an explosion shook the rear of the Mercedes, spewing glass inside.

A Soviet-made antitank grenade, fired from a rocket launcher, had smashed into the trunk, splintering the inch-thick, shatterproof rear window. Then several rounds of small-arms fire were heard. Said Kroesen later: "When I saw that all the legs and arms were in the right places, and the driver found the car would start, we took off."

With drawn weapons, Kroesen's West German military police escort charged toward the source of the attack, a heavily wooded hillside 200 yds. away. Eyewitnesses said they saw a man running from the scene, but police found only an abandoned campsite with a small tent, sleeping bags, canned food and a powerful radio transmitter, all evidence of a carefully planned operation. Whoever scored on the Mercedes with a grenade at that distance was a good shot with a lot of practice, according to police. Had Kroesen not been protected by the car's armor plating, he and the other occupants would certainly have been killed. As it turned out, the general and his wife received only minor cuts from the broken glass, and the others were unscathed.

The attack was the tenth on U.S. personnel and property in West Germany this year, and the fourth in the past month. The bloodiest came three weeks ago at Ramstein Air Base, the U.S. Air Force's European headquarters, where a bomb blast wounded 20 people. "I don't know who is responsible, but I do know there is a group that said they had declared war on us," said General Kroesen. "I'm beginning to believe it." Specifically, the general was referring to the Red Army Faction, the terrorist group founded by Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhoff, which flourished in the 1970s. Confirmation came the next day when the Frankfurt *Rundschau*, a left-of-center daily, received a three-page typewritten letter explaining in turgid jargon that Kroesen had been attacked "because he is one of the U.S. generals who effectively hold in their hands the imperialist policy from Western Europe to the [Persian] Gulf."

Detective displaying Soviet grenade launcher

The brutal re-emergence of the Red Army Faction shook West German authorities out of the complacent belief that the nation's leftist terrorism had largely been brought under control. From a peak of 150 hard-core members four years ago, the Red Army Faction has dwindled to about 30 as a result of arrests, deaths in clashes with police and desertions from the cause. Despite their limited numbers, say West German officials, the terrorists want to exploit the wave of protest against the NATO decision to deploy U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

For Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's government, the upsurge of a terrorist campaign directed against his nation's major ally was a diplomatic as well as a security danger. "These acts of violence are not only attacks against our American allies," said a government statement, "but just as much against our own security and freedom." At stake, it continued, was "the political value and reputation of the Federal Republic."

The attack on General Kroesen clearly seemed to be linked to the huge anti-American demonstration two days earlier in West Berlin that protested the visit of Secretary of State Alexander Haig. "The growth of anti-American rhetoric here is an irreversible invitation to further action of this kind," commented the prestigious Frankfurt *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which predicted that terrorist acts would continue. Indeed, one day after Kroesen's escape, two explosive devices were found on a rail spur leading to the U.S. Rhein-Main Air Base near Frankfurt. Said a police officer: "They would have blown up a train if it had passed."

The terrorists are unlikely to gain many followers among the pacifist adherents of West Germany's peace movement, although there is a risk that some might become sympathizers. Kroesen did his best to avoid additional fraying of U.S.-West German relations because of the incident. "I know too many German people and too much about the German character," he said, "to think that there would be support for what we call a back shooter." —*By Frederick Painton. Reported by Roland Flamini/Bonn*

The armored Mercedes of the commander of U.S. Army forces in Europe after terrorist attack

Sleeping bags, food and a radio—and marksmanship at 200 yds.

Distraught bystanders are led away from the site of the explosion in Sidon

Sudden Death

Bombings rock P.L.O. offices

No one, of course, paid any attention. At about 9 one morning last week, an unidentified man simply parked an automobile in a bustling neighborhood in the southern Lebanese coastal town of Sidon and walked away. Moments later, an explosion ripped through the street, virtually destroying the seven-story regional headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization and its leftist Lebanese allies, the 13-party National Movement, where a meeting of officials was due to convene within the hour.

Distraught relatives and rescue workers carried wounded women and children to safety over the scorched and maimed bodies of the dead. The toll: ten guerrillas and 15 innocent bystanders killed, 108 wounded. No well-known guerrilla commanders were among the casualties.

The P.L.O.–National Movement command immediately blamed Israel for the terrorist attack, describing it as "part of the Zionist enemy's policy of continuing genocide against our Lebanese and Palestinian people." The Israelis made no public reply but privately indicated that they had had nothing to do with the bombing. A shadowy group called the Front for Liberating Lebanon from Foreigners claimed that it had engineered the assault. The group took responsibility for a second bombing that occurred almost simultaneously in the northern Lebanese town of Chekka, where an explosion outside a cement factory said to be owned by P.L.O. and Syrian sympathizers killed ten and wounded ten more. A day later, a third explosion killed two and injured several more in the low-income Beirut suburb of Bourj-el-Barajneh, a P.L.O. stronghold; the Front also claimed to have been behind that bombing.

Little is known about the Front, other than that it is a right-wing group strongly opposed to both the Syrian and P.L.O. presences in Lebanon. In August 1980 the Front took responsibility for the botched assassination attempt on John Gunther Dean, the U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon.

Devastated P.L.O. and leftist headquarters

The cauldron was heating up again.

The fact that so little is known about the Front, and the question of whether or not it really is responsible for the bombings, are measures of the chaos that prevails in Lebanon. Police and security forces, for example, still have no idea who killed French Ambassador Louis Delamare on Sept. 4, nor do they know any reason for the assassination.

Lebanon had been relatively quiet since July 24, when U.S. Special Envoy Philip Habib helped to arrange a *de facto* cease-fire between Israel and the P.L.O. But last week, in addition to the bombings, there were other ominous rumblings. Israeli jets flying routine reconnaissance missions over Beirut and southern Lebanon were fired upon by the P.L.O., and Israeli military officials charged that the Palestinians were moving new military equipment into the south in violation of the cease-fire. The cauldron of Lebanon seemed set to begin boiling yet again. ■

EGYPT

Seeing Red

Sadat expels 1,000 Soviets

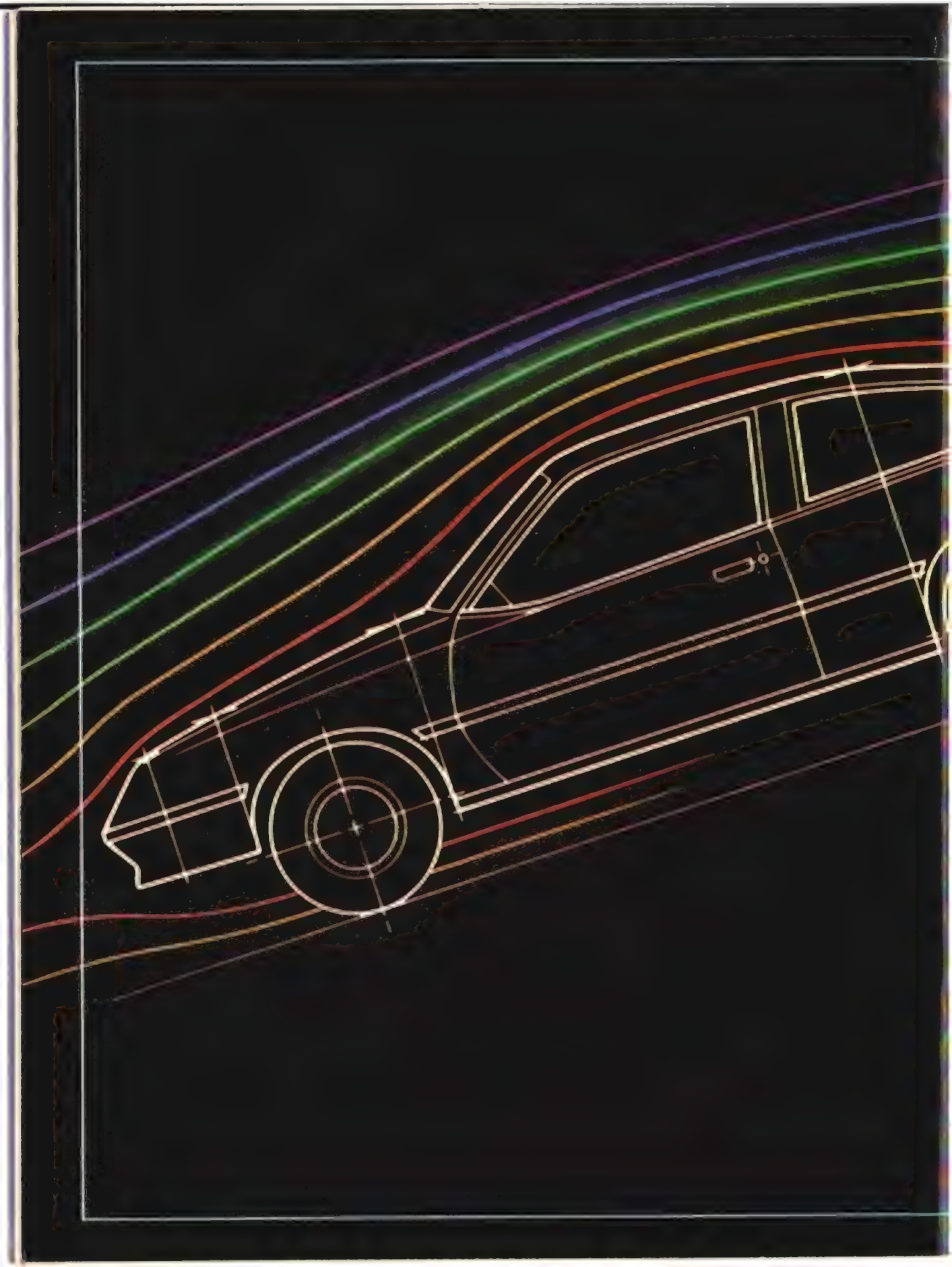
Just eleven days after he had jailed some 1,600 of his domestic opponents, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat last week turned on the Soviets in his country, accusing them of engaging in a variety of conspiracies aimed at overthrowing his regime. He expelled Soviet Ambassador Vladimir Polyakov, along with six members of the Soviet embassy staff, two journalists, and an estimated 1,000 Russian technicians, who were working on various industrial projects, and their dependents. It was the sharpest rebuke Sadat had administered to Moscow since he threw out some 17,000 Soviet technicians and military advisers in 1972.

All the alleged conspiracies apparently involved Soviet agents and Egyptian dissidents. One plot, according to the Cairo government, featured an Egyptian group, known to Sadat's agents as "the Swamp," that included former Deputy Prime Minister Abdel Salam Zayyat, several former ministers and a number of professors and journalists. Some were alleged to be Communists, others were members of the left-wing National Progressive Unionist Party. Their crime, charged the government, was to incite workers, arouse the masses and "fan the flames of sectarianism" by preparing leaflets accusing the Coptic Christians of engaging in anti-Muslim activities. The government released footage reminiscent of the FBI's Abscam films, allegedly showing some members of the group entering the Soviet embassy in Cairo and attending secret meetings.

Was Sadat's latest action justified by actual conspiracies? The U.S. believes Moscow had quietly supported dissident groups in Egypt but seems to know of no recent missteps by the Soviets that would have precipitated the expulsions. Some of Sadat's overseas critics suspected that he was using the allegations of Soviet misconduct as a means of justifying his crackdown on domestic dissidents.

Polyakov

But the Israelis, anxious that Sadat retain power as a stabilizing force in the region, believe the Soviets were up to more serious mischief, coordinating efforts among the various sources of opposition to the Egyptian President during the recent demonstrations. The Israelis also fear that agents of Muammar Gaddafi, Libya's strongman and Sadat's implacable enemy, have penetrated Egypt's armed forces and intelligence community. The Israelis quietly passed on their findings to Sadat, the friend they want to keep in office even as they oppose him in the struggle to resolve the issue of Palestinian autonomy. ■



After the aerodynamics are right, go to the wind tunnel again.

The original goal had been achieved. It took less aerodynamic energy per pound to move our new car than any other in its size category. But GM engineers sought even better results.

By going into the wind tunnel for yet another test, we found that we could reduce the drag coefficient even more by moving the car's nameplate back less than an inch. It was a small detail, but we made the change. And it was worth it. No American company had ever built a more aerodynamically efficient family car.

General Motors is one of the few automobile manufacturers in the world, and the only one in the United States, with its own full-scale aerodynamic wind tunnel. That means we can run aerodynamic tests round-the-clock, whenever necessary. After the test, we can make improvements right at the site, and test the cars again.

That's our idea of how to use technology to build cars. Attention to details where you don't see them, as well as where you do. Appearance and comfort may sometimes sell a car, but today's customers demand real value.

Our goal, as the company that sells more cars than any other manufacturer in the world, is to maintain our lead by using new technology to build cars that run better and last longer, with lower maintenance costs, than those built by any competitor.

General Motors

The future of transportation is here.

GM

COSTA RICA

Raiding Grandma's Cabinet

Carazo's free-spending ways have turned a crisis into a disaster

On the eve of Independence Day, which falls on Sept. 15, the President of Costa Rica traditionally lights a "Liberty Torch" in the old capital city of Cartago and the next day addresses schoolchildren in the present capital of San José. This year things did not work out too well. At Cartago, President Rodrigo Carazo Odio, 54, was shouted down when he tried to speak, and later discovered that the air had been let out of the tires of his car. At San José he did not even bother with the customary oration. He quickly paraphrased the first verse of the country's national anthem ("Costa Ricans, remember that beneath the limpid blue of your skies, there will always be work and peace") and just as quickly sat down.

Carazo is probably the most unpopular President in the history of Central America's showplace democracy, and the reason is not hard to fathom: the nation's economy is in ruins. Inflation is roaring along at 40% a year (up from 20% in 1980). The unemployment rate is 12%, strikes have broken out, and consumer goods are gradually disappearing from store shelves. In late July, the government was unable to make payments on the $2.6 billion it owes to more than 130 international banks—a hefty $1,180 per capita debt in a land of 2.2 million. A month later the nation stopped paying even the $30 million monthly interest on those loans. Costa Rica is flat broke.

The current crisis began when the International Monetary Fund suspended payments in August on a three-year $330 million loan. It was the third agreement broken in 17 months. According to the IMF, Costa Rica had once again failed to keep its promise to curtail excessive spending. Laments Economist Edward Lizano: "I think we have the world championship in broken IMF agreements." The situation is now so bad that nobody will lend Costa Rica even the short-term money it needs for the rest of the year. In July and August, the government sent representatives to the U.S., Canada, West Germany, France, Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia in pursuit of a fast $60 million; the representatives came home empty-handed.

In a way, Costa Rica's current troubles stem from its greatest assets: its history as a free society, the development of a strong middle class and the creation of a governmental system that was deliberately decentralized to minimize the danger from coups and tyrannical regimes so prevalent in the region. The unfortunate consequence is that much of the public sector is outside the budgetary control of the executive branch, and both the legislative assembly and the supreme court can make important economic decisions without the approval of the President.

Moreover, Costa Rica has a tradition of spending beyond its means. For three decades the government rolled over its debts from one year to the next, confident that the steadily rising price for coffee, which accounts for one-third of its trade, would bail it out. But gradually, even as it continued to launch more public-works projects and import more luxury goods, Costa Rica got snared in the same dilemma that is afflicting countries throughout the Third World: the price of its exports dwindled, while those of its imports soared. In 1977 an 85-lb. sack of coffee produced enough foreign exchange to buy 13 bbl. of oil; today it buys less than three.

VENEGAS—LA NACION

President Rodrigo Carazo at Independence Day ceremonies

Inflation, unemployment and broken agreements.

Most economists in San José agree that Carazo, after his inauguration in 1978, unwittingly made everything worse. A politician who craved to be liked, he failed to devalue the colón and establish strict import controls. He continued to subsidize the prices of gasoline, food and imported luxury items. When he could not borrow any more, he printed additional money to pay government employees and avoid unemployment.

When Carazo asked the IMF to lend Costa Rica money for the third time last January, he immediately began to sell dollars on the open market in order to bolster the sinking colón and thereby impress the IMF staff negotiating in San José. The cost: $45 million. As soon as the IMF team left town, the colón dropped again. In May he sold the country's $41 million in gold reserves stored at Fort Knox to pay short-term debts, further demonstrating that his government was, as a local journalist puts it, "like a junkie raiding Grandma's silver cabinet for one more fix." Today Costa Rica has no foreign exchange left at all.

To its credit, the Carazo government recently succeeded in ending a five-month wave of terrorism conducted by a group of leftist guerrillas who call themselves the "family." Now the government must see to it that the rising inflation, unemployment, food shortages and the incipient bankruptcy of 250 businesses do not lead to the sorts of civil disorders and revolution that are plaguing the country's neighbors. Luckily for Carazo, he is a lameduck President whose term will expire in May 1982. With elections set for next February, the likely winner is Luis Alberto Monge Alvarez, 55, a portly politician known as a team player rather than a charismatic leader.

Monge's National Liberation Party, however, is a socialist group with a tradition of high spending in previous administrations. This time around, it will have to be more tight-fisted than ever before. According to a new government-commissioned report by the New York investment house of Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb, Costa Rica's credit requirements will rise over the next five years to more than $4 billion, a gigantic sum for so small a country. The report, which in effect asks Costa Rica's many creditors to demonstrate as much mercy as possible, concludes that the country faces "a prolonged period of severe readjustment and austerity."

The Reagan Administration, which has been working through its embassy to aid Costa Rica with the IMF, hopes to get some money from Congress to help out. This week Carazo's government will meet with some of its international bank creditors and try again to avert the day of reckoning. —*By William E. Smith. Reported by James Willwerth/ San José*

REFUGEES

Free at Last

But Soviet exiles remember

Lev Kopelev

Tatyana Yankelevich

Vladimir Bukovsky

Memories of Moscow and a craving for books so strong that people stole them at the fair

The dinner party given by the Association of American Publishers on the occasion of the last Moscow International Book Fair had been a literary highlight. It was 1979, and present at the plush Aragvi Restaurant in the Soviet capital was a pleiad of Russian writers and intellectuals, including Andrei Sakharov, the famed nuclear physicist, Dissident Author Anatoli Marchenko, Novelists Vasili Aksyonov and Vladimir Voinovich, and Critics Lev Kopelev and Raisa Orlova. But when the U.S. publishers got ready to give another such gala at the Moscow book fair this month, they knew the party would have to be smaller.

Since the last outing, the KGB has seized Sakharov and dispatched him to the city of Gorky, where he has been held incommunicado for the past 20 months. Marchenko has just been sentenced to ten years of hard labor and five of exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Aksyonov, Voinovich, Kopelev, Orlova and several others have been forced to live abroad. Even the erstwhile hosts have been made unwelcome. Four prominent American publishers were refused visas to the Soviet Union, and Random House Chairman Robert L. Bernstein was the target of an anti-Semitic attack in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*.

The result was an A.A.P. boycott of the book fair in Moscow and a change of venue for the party. The survivors of the ill-fated 1979 gathering who were able to attend joined about 50 other Soviet exiles last week for a dinner of stuffed capon and *salade russe* in the Trustees Room of the 42nd Street public library in New York City. The publishers created a minifair of their own: a table laden with U.S.-published books by Russian writers who are banned in the U.S.S.R. Said Bernstein: "The pattern of intimidation, of fear, of harsh sentences arbitrarily meted out to Soviet writers, scientists and thinkers who dare speak their minds is unacceptable. We will not be a party to it by conducting business as usual."

Some of the exiled writers disputed the American decision to boycott the Soviet book fair. "Do not punish Soviet readers for the crimes of the Soviet government," pleaded the venerable German literature scholar Kopelev, 69, who had come from West Germany for the exiles' party. He recalled that people had lined up for miles to attend the foreign book exhibitions in Moscow in previous years. Novelist Yuz Aleshkovsky noted that eager readers had actually stolen many of the Western books that were shown at the Moscow fair. Said he: "When I think about the Soviet government and its wardens for whom all these fairs are merely another propaganda show, I am all for the boycott, but when I think about the people for whom this is the only opportunity to see, or maybe even to steal, say, the Bible, I cannot be purely pragmatic."

As the vodka flowed, customary Russian conviviality was mixed with concern over the fate of Marchenko, jailed because of his prison camp memoirs, and similar worries about a host of other victims of the latest squeeze of Soviet repression. Tatyana Yankelevich, Sakharov's stepdaughter, who immigrated to Boston in 1977, angrily denounced Soviet officials who are "demonstrating their power on the bones of the best citizens of Russia." Biologist Vladimir Bukovsky, 38, who had spent nine years in Soviet prisons and camps before he was exchanged for a Chilean Communist in 1976, listed some of the dissidents who have recently been dispatched to the Gulag, including Historian Arseni Roginsky, who was arrested last month on the charge of forging a library card. Said Bukovsky: "If all these writers, poets, editors and journalists were allowed to attend the present reception, this room would be too small to admit them. Only Soviet prisons are spacious enough for that purpose." ■

The Guillotine Falls

Death of Robespierre (1794)
Inset: Joseph-Ignace Guillotin

The cold steel blade, sandwiched between two upright wooden shafts, is quietly carted into the prison's exercise yard before dawn. The convict is aroused at 5:30 and offered a cigarette and a glass of rum. Then, bound and blindfolded, he is strapped, face down, neck bared, to the shoulder-high plank. A switch trips and the heavy, razor-sharp blade falls.

Ever since 1789 when Joseph-Ignace Guillotin advocated swift and painless decapitation as a way to put people to death, the guillotine, designed by others, has served as a uniquely French form of capital punishment. During the French Revolution hundreds of heads were lopped off, and the crowds came early to get a good view of such victims as Danton and Robespierre. In all, the guillotine was used some 4,600 times. Public executions were banned in 1939. In the past decade, the blade fell only six times, the most recent in Sept. 1977 when Hamida Djandoubi was dispatched for murder.

When he took office last May, Socialist President François Mitterrand vowed to cease all executions, although polls show that 62% of the French people are opposed to the change. Last week, after two days of heated debate, France's National Assembly voted 363 to 117 to approve a bill that abolishes the death penalty.

Once the bill becomes law in early October, Justice Minister Robert Badinter intends to turn over custody of one of the two surviving guillotines to a Paris museum, where, he predicts, "it is going to have the same attraction as the *Mona Lisa*." An avid collector of memorabilia involving the device, Badinter purchased the document signed by Louis XVI legalizing the guillotine for executions in 1791. The King died under the blade 18 months after approving its use. Reflects Badinter: "I don't think the machine gave him much satisfaction in the end."

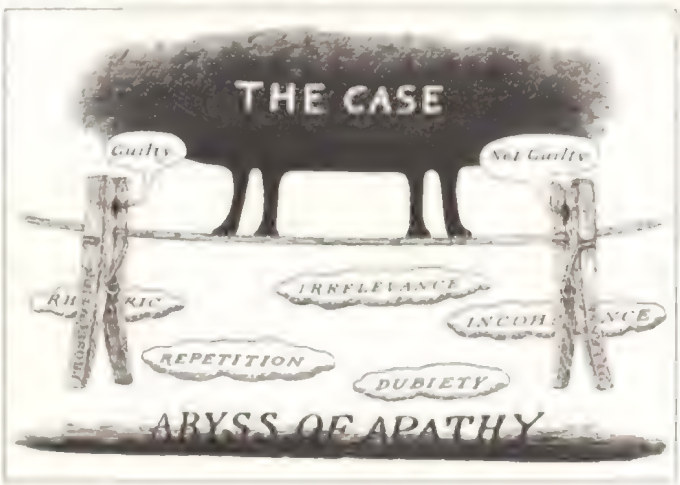
COVER STORY

We, the Jury, Find the . . .

That irksome, boring, vital, rewarding, democratic experience

"It was a great big mystery that had to be solved," said Ruth Yudkoff, 57, a white-haired woman who works as an assistant principal of an elementary school in Gaithersburg, Md. "It would have been perfect for the movies, only it was real, and we had to solve it."

The great big mystery was: Who seized the Grand Marnier bottle, smashed it against the wall, and then used the jagged remnant to tear out Louise Pickering's throat? The police had charged Charles Day Terry, 17, who worked as a dishwasher at Pickering's restaurant and who had twice been confined to mental institutions. Terry claimed an unusual alibi: he had been buying marijuana in Annapolis on the night of the murder. He said he had been mugged in the process, and that was why there was blood on his shirt.



From a pool of 150 potential jurors, the lawyers took nine hours to pick Yudkoff plus another assistant principal, an adult-education director, a department-store manager, a government worker, a lawyer, a freelance writer, a ticket agent, two secretaries, a student and an electrician. After hearing 75 witnesses over the course of two weeks, the jurors filed out of court at 5:30 p.m. one day and took their seats around an old wooden table. For a long moment they just looked at one another. Then everybody started talking at once.

After an hour of arguing, the jurors took their first vote by a show of hands: four to acquit, two to convict, six undecided. The store manager suggested that they all write out their reasons on a blackboard. One by one, they stood up and explained their votes. "I kept hearing 'Beyond a reasonable doubt, beyond a reasonable doubt,' " said Suzanne Sheldon, the writer, who had originally voted for conviction. "And I kept seeing that kid Charles looking up at me from the defendant's table with his big blue eyes. It tore me apart." The jurors sent out for sandwiches, and took a written ballot at 8:30 p.m. No more undecideds. Eight votes to acquit, four to convict. One of the four, Pat Sweeney, the other assistant principal, said she had put a lot of weight on the youth's confinements in mental institutions. Pat Walshe, the lawyer, persuaded her that this was irrelevant, since they had never been told why Terry had been confined. Sweeney erased her reason from the blackboard, the first changed vote, an important turning point. A third ballot at 10 p.m. showed eleven to acquit, one to convict.

The holdout was the jury foreman, William Beebe, 25, the student. He thought the circumstantial evidence was convincing—the bloody shirt, for example. He did not believe the story about the mugging. Several other jurors kept arguing that there was reasonable doubt. Considering the victim's wound, was there really that much blood on Terry's shirt? At around midnight, Beebe gave in.

Terry was sobbing uncontrollably as the jurors filed back into the courtroom. When the foreman said, "Not guilty," there was a storm of applause. Sweeney ran to the women's room and burst into tears. "It was very stressful," she said later, "but I wouldn't trade that experience." Added Yudkoff, "It was all a little awesome, really."

There are many ways to tell right from wrong, the guilty from the innocent. In Burma one traditional method was to make each party light candles of equal size; whoever had the candle that lasted longest was the winner. In Borneo the opponents poured lime juice on two shellfish; the decision depended on which fish squirmed first. Though some of the roots of the jury system can be traced back more than a thousand years to the Carolingian kings of Continental Europe, such alternatives as trial by combat and trial by ordeal endured for centuries. Today the idea of trial by jury is enshrined in several guarantees of the U.S. Constitution. The Sixth Amendment, for one, gives criminal defendants "the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury." Trial by jury is part of every American's legal birthright, and thus, like income taxes or the Wassermann test, part of his duties.

But it is also a fundamental aspect of the citizen's share in government. "The jury, which is the most energetic means of making the people rule, is also the most effective means of teaching it to rule," said Alexis de Tocqueville. Thomas Jefferson described the jury system as "the only anchor ever yet imagined by man by which a government can be held to the principles of its constitution."

Every year in the U.S. some 3 million citizens are asked to drop everything in the rest of their lives and present themselves in court as potential jurors. The experience that awaits them can be something of an ordeal, wasteful and exasperating—and sometimes, most irritating of all, deadly dull. Reforming judges—not the least being Chief Justice Warren Burger—have challenged many aspects of this centuries-old system, and numerous courts are pioneering new computerized techniques that will speed up the whole process. Others have started to use smaller juries, streamlined rules, less-than-unanimous verdicts. The grand-jury system, which has many similar shortcomings, is being increasingly bypassed in some areas. Despite its inconveniences and irritations, which prompt many people to try to avoid it, jury service nevertheless can be, and often is, the most rewarding civic duty that average citizens get a chance to perform, far more so than voting or paying taxes. It is our communal enactment of the democratic idea.

Jury trials are actually not as common as is generally believed. Of all the criminal jury trials in the world, some 80% occur in the U.S. Yet more than 90%

of all cases in the U.S. never come before a jury. Most litigants plea bargain, settle out of court or opt for trial before only a judge. Still, some 300,000 cases a year do come before a jury.

The conditions that can make jury duty so frustrating vary from place to place. Citizens are on call for as long as a year in rural areas of Wisconsin and most of Montana; daily pay can range from $45 a day in Kewaunee County, Wis., to $5 in civil cases in San Francisco, where nothing at all is paid to those who wait. Tensions inside the jury room can be painful, particularly if the jurors are sequestered at night. But the most common complaints are boredom and a sense of futility. Many are called and few chosen. Even those who are chosen, and summoned to court at a brisk hour of the morning, endure considerable (and often unexplained) delays before the court machinery finally turns. Judges often do not explain the law's mysteries. And on at least two occasions in recent years, panels of jurors were locked up and forgotten for the rest of the day.

Nonetheless, a 1976 study of 3,000 jurors in 18 court systems found that 90% had a favorable reaction to jury duty. "Jury duty is like motherhood," says Tom Munsterman, executive director of the Center for Jury Studies, a private, nonprofit research organization in McLean, Va. "People are for it. If we don't get an 80% favorable response in any particular court, that court is in deep trouble." Adds one New York City executive: "It is a major responsibility to reach a verdict, and every jury I have served on has taken the responsibility very seriously. Twelve strangers meet by chance in this strange process, learn to work together, reason together and finally reach a conclusion that may be crucial in the lives of others. When you achieve this, you feel you have really accomplished something. It brings out the best in most people."

That is only true, however, if the jury reaches a verdict. But one-quarter to one-half of all the cases that go before a jury are suddenly settled out of court. Many of them involve liability claims, in which the impaneling of a jury may be simply another stage in the insurance companies' bargaining process. Another 5% end in the anger and frustration of a hung jury. And of the 3 million citizens who are called to jury duty every year, for an average of ten days each, fully 40% never get onto a jury at all.

First comes the great raking in of potential jurors. The system for calling them varies wildly. In Manhattan, for example, the computers whir through thousands of names—basically a combination of voters, taxpayers and drivers—and then send out about 3,000 summonses each week. And last week, as it must to all computer systems, anarchy came to the Manhattan courts: the computers sent their summonses to 3,000 citizens who had already been excused; only 300 eligible jurors showed up, and twelve criminal courtrooms had to be temporarily closed. In Prince Georges County, Md., by contrast, a judge who suddenly found himself short of jurors simply sent sheriff's deputies out to round up some citizens. Among the 20 or so corralled were a woman heading home with a bag of groceries and an angry trucker with a load of wet cement. In South Carolina's Hampton County, everything depends on an antique system in which a child under ten or a blind person sits in court and pulls the names of potential jurors from a metal box. Says Marjorie Avant, a courthouse employee: "No one ever suggested doing it any other way."

The rules for escaping jury duty are equally diverse. Courts generally exempt doctors and lawyers and those who can demonstrate hardship. But tobacco farmers are exempted during harvest time in Virginia; South Carolina still excuses "apothecaries"; Indiana excuses ferryboat operators. For those who must serve, the first thing to learn is to wait. "It's wait-

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY ROBERT WEAVER

ing for the judge, waiting for the lawyers, waiting to be called. It's not amusing or fun; it's just a duty," says Gwen Pritchard, a Washington lobbyist, standing in the hallway of the District of Columbia courthouse. "It's 300 people doing nothing," says another would-be juror, Libby Gallagher, as she watches her neighbors playing cards, knitting, staring into space. "It's a bore."

One of the main reasons for all the waiting in many courts is the long and sometimes pointless interrogations known as *voir dire*. Scene: a maple-paneled room in Manhattan Supreme Court. At issue: a small drug sale. "Are you living with anybody?" the defense lawyer asks a middle-aged widow. The woman looks uncomfortable. "We're not gossip columnists," the judge intervenes. "We only want to ask questions that determine if you are a fair and impartial juror. Many people nowadays live together." The woman says she lives alone. The questioning continues.

"The worst thing is not the irrelevant questions," says one survivor of *voir dire*, "but the fact that you're locked into a dingy room with 30 other would-be jurors and two or more lawyers, who then proceed to pound each of you with the same questions. This can take a half-hour or more for each juror, and then you have to hear it all over and over again. After a day or so, you'll grab at anything."

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY LISA GRACE

If all the questioning fails to produce any sign of prejudice or other unfitness, finally, an attorney can still ban a juror by exercising one of his peremptory challenges (the number for each side generally ranges from four to ten, though the total for the defense goes higher in criminal cases in some states). The lawyer need not give any reason, or even have any. "It's very upsetting to get bounced," says John Shore, a scientist at the Naval Research Laboratory in Washington. "To be denied because you're too smart, or because you're the wrong race or socioeconomic group—that's nonsense."

"It's common for the jury-selection process to take longer than the trial itself," notes New York Supreme Court Justice Arnold Fraiman. That complaint is hard to document, but a new study by three professors at the City University of New York does show that *voir dire* in an average felony trial in New York City takes eight hours over the course of 2½ days. The professors estimate that New York City judges trying felony cases spend at least one-third of their time on jury selection, and that one basic reform could provide the equivalent in man-hours of 20 extra judges, amounting in effect to a minimum of $9 million in annual savings.

That basic reform is to let the judges question prospective jurors, as they now do in the federal courts and in 22 states. (In England, a court officer first weeds out ineligible candidates, such as lawyers, and the judge may ask further questions.) Though a federal judge may consider questions from the opposing lawyers, he is apt simply to ask the prospective jurors about their general ability to reach a fair verdict. The average time spent on jury selection in federal court is two hours, and, according to the C.U.N.Y. study, there is no evidence that longer *voir dire* significantly changes the rate of conviction.

The most annoying problem to prospective jurors, the waiting around, has actually been solved already, but the solution is spreading through the system with the speed of a glacier. Says Houston's District Court Judge Shearn Smith, chairman of the Harris County jury committee: "When I became a judge, I went down to the jury assembly room, and I found an unhappy group of citizens. They were not unhappy about being called, but about sitting and not doing anything." Instead of having a number of jurors yawning in the courthouse all week, Smith's committee reasoned, why not keep prospective jurors on call to serve for just one day or one trial? Adopted in 1972, the one-day, one-trial system worked so well that other court systems began copying it.

At Wayne County's circuit court in Detroit, which adopted the system in 1975, it works this way: every two weeks the courthouse computers spew forth a random sample of more than 1,000 names and addresses from a jury pool of 30,000 citizens. Occupational exemptions have been abolished, though brief deferrals are usually granted by telephone. The rate of excuses has been cut from 33% to .09%. Thereafter, an average of 100 prospective jurors are summoned each day, but only about 75 are asked to come to court. The others telephone to hear a prerecorded message that tells them if they are needed. Those who are summoned appear at 8:30 a.m. on their first day for a half-hour orientation on their duties. They will serve only one day, unless they actually get on a jury, and then they serve on only one case (the average is four days). After that they are free for twelve months.

In various forms, the one-day, one-trial system has slowly spread to about 50 of the nation's 3,000 court systems, including Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Dallas, Cambridge, Mass., and parts of Chicago. The system generally provides one immediate benefit: the saving of previously wasted jurors' fees. Says David Kasunic, the Wayne State business law professor who guided the Detroit area through the change: "It's a panacea without a pitfall."

If the jury is fundamental to the U.S. system of justice, then it is clearly fundamental that the selection of jurors must also be just. Though the U.S. Supreme Court ruled as long ago as 1880 that the newly emancipated blacks could not be excluded outright from jury service, nearly a century of case-by-case adjudication has been necessary to develop and enforce the court's principle that all juries must be drawn from "a fair cross section of the community." And how is such a cross section to be determined? The traditional method was that "key men" in the community—bankers and merchants, for the most part—drew up lists of responsible citizens who would serve. Not until this past winter was the last such key-man system discarded, in New Hampshire, after a conviction based on it was overturned.

In 1968 Congress passed the Jury Selection and Service Act, which required that federal courts cull jurors from the list of registered voters, but the states took their time in following suit. Although the Supreme Court has outlawed "systematic exclusion" of women and racial minorities from prospective jury lists, the court has consistently refused to set any specific quotas for these or any other groups on the juries actually selected.

But the voting lists do not provide a completely accurate cross section of a community. Overall, the registered voters represent only 67% of the adult population, and even after the reforms of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, they are still

disproportionately the white, the middle class and the middle-aged. In North Carolina's Cumberland County, a detailed study four years ago showed that the jury list based on both voters and taxpayers was only 17% black, while the population was 24% black, but the disparate figures could be brought much closer together by adding the list of licensed drivers. A bill to do basically that was approved by the North Carolina legislature in July.

Many of the same problems apply to the selection of grand juries, which hear a prosecutor's presentation of a case and then decide whether a suspect should be indicted. Grand juries are supposed to protect citizens against intimidating prosecutions, but many experts now regard them as a needless anachronism and an opportunity for prosecutorial excess. Most states no longer require their use, but the federal courts and 22 states still insist upon them for serious crimes.

Even the most exquisitely balanced prospective jury list is only a battleground for the opposing lawyers to start fighting for the jurors they want. "Picking a jury is the most difficult thing a lawyer does," says John Ackerman, dean of the National College for Criminal Defense in Houston. "And few lawyers know how to do it. You get no training or any help at all on that issue in law school." The teachings of courthouse legend are all stereotypes. Prosecutors, says University of Illinois Sociologist Rita Simon, are alleged to favor 1) men, 2) Republicans, 3) the prosperous, 4) bankers, engineers and accountants, and 5) Germans. Defense attorneys supposedly favor women, Democrats, poorer people, social scientists and minorities.

Most lawyers claim that their judgments are somewhat more sophisticated. Washington Attorney Jacob Stein, for example, is partial toward librarians because "they listen to reason." New York Legal Aid Society Attorney Dan Nobel is philosophical: "I look for someone who's basically not bitter about life, someone who knows that this is not the best of all worlds." Courtroom Star Louis Nizer suggests subtler methods. Says he: "If I see a juror who draws his mouth together very tightly, I'm inclined to think he's a severe fellow, too severe."

Implicit in all such observations is the idea that the lawyer is seeking only someone fair and open-minded, while his antagonist yearns to find bigots and idiots. "It's really foolishness for lawyers to tell jurors that they want them to be impartial," says New York Attorney Herald Price Fahringer. "We all do it, and it's a lie. I don't want an impartial jury. I want a jury that is compatible to my client's cause."

Chicago Prosecutor William Kunkle favors self-employed business people, homeowners and those with strong religious views. He would challenge, he says, "anyone who has had one psychology course or one sociology course in college." That is not, he insists, the often charged but never admitted bias against intelligent jurors. Kunkle's reasoning: "The jury brings in common sense, a knowledge of everyday life. Say the case involves a tavern fight. Is someone with a Ph.D. in English literature really going to be helpful in deciding the issues?"

Some would answer that the whole fuss over jury selection is exaggerated. Says Glenn Zell, an Atlanta attorney who has specialized in defending obscenity cases: "If you take the first twelve, it'll be just as good."

Once the courts have solved all problems of getting the jurors assembled in the jury box, there remain some far more fundamental questions: Is this really the best way of achieving a fair verdict? Or is it naive to think that the cause of truth and justice can best be served by twelve ordinary citizens wholly ignorant of the law and specially chosen for having no knowledge or opinions about the case before them? Mark Twain, as usual, had a sharp answer: "The jury system puts a ban upon intelligence and honesty, and a premium upon ignorance, stupidity and perjury."

Originally, though, jurors were selected for what they knew. Like democracy, the isosceles triangle and the cheesecake, trial by jury is an idea of the Greeks, though the Greek juries of up to 2,000 members sometimes turned into a mob, *e.g.*, condemning Socrates to death on dubious charges of impiety and "corruption of the young." The Anglo-American tradition of the jury actually derives, according to many scholars, mainly from the 9th century Carolingian *inquisitio*, or demand for information, in which the king authorized local officials to round up citizens and compel them to testify. Hence the word juror, from the Latin word to swear. But criminal guilt was often still determined somewhat haphazardly in trial by combat or trial by ordeal. Only in the 12th century did King Henry II start sending out judges to preside over groups of local citizens who were commanded to report on any recent crimes in their neighborhood. In later years, the accusations of these original grand juries were submitted to a petit jury, which was often locked up without food or water until it reached a verdict.

No one has ever accused the jury system of being efficient. It wastes considerable time, effort and money to explain everything to the twelve citizens in the box. Indeed, a study released in June showed that the average juror understands only about half of the judge's instructions. For their services, the nation's jurors are paid $200 million a year, and their absence from work costs the nation an estimated $1 billion.

Most courtroom lawyers, however, hasten to defend the jury system. One major reason is that they are dubious about leaving all decisions to judges, particularly those chosen by big-city political machines. "The other alternative is to get a bunch of blue-ribbon professors up there, and that's baloney," says a veteran trial attorney in Chicago. Adds another Chicago lawyer: "If you end up with a professional arbitrator, he tends to cut the baby down the middle."

The divergence between different methods of reaching a verdict is actually not overwhelming. About 80% of the time, according to one authoritative study, judge and jury agree on the verdict. When they disagree in civil trials, experts say, it is usually because jurors sympathize with a plaintiff's argument against a wealthy defendant or else because a borderline disagreement could reasonably go either way. When there is disagreement in a criminal case, when reasonable doubt becomes an element in the verdict, the jury is six times more likely to acquit. Says one Washington prosecutor: "Juries have the luxury of rendering what they consider a social judgment."

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY CHRIS SPOONER

In some cases, as in the prosecution of marijuana smokers, juries will simply ignore a law that they feel is unrealistic, and occasionally the law is accordingly updated. Sometimes, the jury exercises this right of "nullification" regardless of the evidence. In Philadelphia, for example, the state once granted immunity to a police chief and allowed him to retire with full benefits in exchange for his testimony against 14 subordinate officers accused of bribery; the jury rebelled and acquitted 13 of them.

To the system's defenders, the average juror's lack of expertise is not a handicap but a positive value, for the jurors are supposed to represent the community's sense of right and wrong. "Our civilisation has decided, and very justly decided, that determining the guilt or innocence of men is a thing too important to be trusted to trained men . . . ." G.K. Chesterton wrote. "It asks men who know no more law than I know, but who can feel the things that I felt in the jury box."

"When the facts are halfway uncertain, the jury will decide the case in terms of what they think is just —which is what they should do," says Hans Zeisel, professor emeritus of law and sociology at the University of Chicago and co-author of *The American Jury* (1966). Adds Robert Hanley, a senior partner in the Chicago firm of Jenner & Block: "Jurors are great at picking out the gut issue and deciding on that. They can tell whether a chairman of the board is lying or not, and that's what it comes down to."

Hanley has good reason to believe in juries. He represented the MCI Communications Corp. in its antitrust suit against A T & T. In June 1980 a jury found in favor of MCI, and the judge, as required by antitrust law, awarded the company treble damages amounting to $1.8 billion, making it the largest court judgment in U.S. history. It almost did not happen. For tactical reasons, MCI offered at one point to waive its right to a jury. A T & T declined the offer. Says A T & T Chief Trial Counsel George Saunders: "The American jury system is the worst there is, except for any other that has ever been tried or thought of."

Hanley and his trial partner, Chester Kamin, attached such importance to the kind of juror they would get that they hired a political polling firm to survey the attitudes of potential jurors toward each side's arguments. This technique, like those pioneered by liberal lawyers during the political trials of the 1970s, provided a demographic profile of the kind of jurors MCI should seek: self-made and competitive people, intelligent, first- and second-generation Americans, susceptible to arguments that mighty A T & T had been unfair to MCI.

Hanley and Kamin even recruited some of the people surveyed to form three different mock juries for them to experiment on. On three successive nights, Hanley and Kamin presented the heart of their case to one of the juries, then used a see-through mirror to observe the discussion as the jurors "deliberated." The following day they analyzed the jurors' reactions and then revised their presentation for the next mock jury.

The final result confirmed Hanley's almost mystical awe of the jury process. Says he: "I really believe the Holy Ghost descends on those people when they're in there." But Loser Saunders has not lost faith. Says he: "We had a darn good jury. They decided five of the 15 issues in our favor, and I'm absolutely convinced that if they had been properly instructed by the judge, they would have voted with us on the other ten as well."

Sometimes, of course, there is no sign of the Holy Ghost inside the jury room. Nassau County Republican Chairman Joseph Margiotta stood accused of mail fraud and extortion, and a court clerk warned prospective jurors that the trial might last four to six weeks. Richard Yurack, who had recently been laid off as a chemical salesman, had time to spare and thought the trial would be interesting, but in the course of 65 witnesses and 4,000 pages of testimony, says Yurack, the whole case "just got too complicated for some of the jurors."

The jurors—seven men and five women, among them two butchers, two secretaries, two housewives and a garbage man—could not understand the judge's 2½-hour instructions and so asked to have large sections in writing. Says Yurack: "The more we got into it, the more we were getting off the track. So then somebody said, 'We've got to start somewhere. Let's see if we can figure out the charges.' " There were six counts, each with subdivisions, but after seven days of arguments in the ill-ventilated chamber, the jurors remained hopelessly divided. Three jurors adamantly held out for conviction. Says Yurack: "The rest of us could have gone home and played tiddlywinks." On the eighth day, the jury gave up, and now the ten-month-old prosecution will have to be resumed in November. Says Yurack: "I would not have wanted that jury to judge me—God forbid."

One of the strongest and most quirky elements in a jury's thinking is often racial antagonism. In Washington, D.C., where 80% of the jurors are black, one white juror recalls a trial in which a white policeman was accused of hitting a black. Says she: "When we went into the jury room, the seven blacks sat on one side of the table, and the five whites sat on the other. The blacks just smoked cigarettes and glared at us until we voted against the policeman."

In Miami, it took three weeks to impanel jurors in the trial of four blacks accused of beating three whites to death during last year's rioting, and the pressure was so great that one prospective juror suffered a respiratory seizure. The chosen jury was sequestered in a motel, forbidden to have television or telephones, constantly watched by three police officers. "We walked around like little soldiers," recalls Foreman Dale Dollar, 25, a black who works for Florida Power & Light Co. "It felt like the jury was on trial."

After seven days of testimony, the nine white and three black jurors received 30 pages of instructions, which Dollar calls "intimidating," and then the real

Polaroid Invents The Sun Camera

An astonishing new camera and film system.

Now you can turn bad light into good pictures.

Indoors. Backlight puts her in silhouette, but our "sunshine" fills her face and mixes with the light in the room. You get the indoor detail with a perfectly natural look.

Outdoors. Lost in the shadow of the hat, her face is brightened by our "sunshine." And our light mixes with the natural light, so there's no harsh flash look, even up close.

An Astonishing New Ca

Our own piece of the sun.

We've put our own piece of the sun into this amazing new camera system to make it possible for even beginners to take beautiful pictures every time, in any kind of light.

This new system can actually turn bad light into good pictures. The camera does this automatically. Focusing and exposure control are also automatic, freeing you to concentrate on the picture you want instead of the calculations needed to take it. And, of course, this new Polaroid system gives you sharp beautiful color prints in seconds.

The light you use on every shot.

Our new Sun Camera adds proportional "fill" lighting wherever it's needed, indoors or out—extra electronic light that fills the shadows and yet mixes with the natural light in the scene.

The system itself decides how much light each situation needs, and gives it to you—without a harsh flash look.

And this camera can actually save you money by saving you film. Even in bright sunlight, shadows which seemed minor to your eye could still come out as dark blobs in pictures. But today you don't have to worry about where the sun is or where its shadows fall. When you see a picture you want, it's yours.

Computes beautiful light wherever you are.

Light management is one of the real secrets to beautiful pictures. And now all the lighting decisions are made for you by ingenious electronic "logic" circuits. Indoors and out, the scene tells the system how much electronic light to add to the picture to erase harsh shadows and blend subtly with the natural light.

The invention behind the invention: The fastest color print film ever made—600 ASA!

The way to our Sun Camera was opened by our invention of an incredible new high-speed film—a color print film of extraordinary light sensitivity. At 600 ASA, this film is 4 times faster than our standard SX-70 film and will record detail with much less light than ordinary color film.

This film's high speed enables our Sun Camera to use a small aperture, giving you greater depth of field with more detail throughout your picture. Colors are sharp, deep and brilliant. And development is virtually complete in 90 seconds.

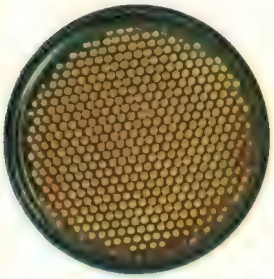
Revolutionary new use for sonar.

In our Autofocus Model 660, we've put a unique rotating lens disc. When cued by our Sonar

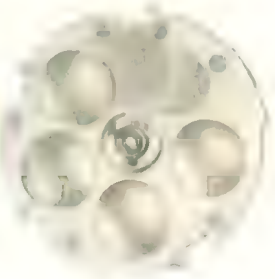
mera and Film System.

Autofocus, one of four lenses on the disc locks in place to set you in precise focus from 2 feet to infinity.

And our sonar now also works with the electric eye and electronic shutter to balance the Sun Camera's



Sonar Transducer



Rotating Lens Disc

light with the ambient light. At the precise millisecond this light balance is achieved, the system orders the aperture closed. You now have the proper balance of electronic and ambient (natural) light.

Super power for the Sun Camera.

We've also invented a new super battery with far more capacity than our previous batteries. It is built into our film packs and is the only battery our Sun Camera needs. It runs everything from the motor to the electronic "sunshine." And it's powerful enough to recharge the "sunshine" in as little as 5 seconds after each shot.

No extra cost. Forget about buying flash and extra batteries.

You can actually save money. Since you no longer worry about losing shots to bad light, you can imagine your savings on film. And Polaroid technology lets you shoot as much as you want without extra expense: the "sunshine" is a permanent part of the camera, and you get a fresh battery in every new film pack.

You get it all with the Sun Camera.

Our Sun Camera Autofocus 660 totally automates the mechanics of picture-taking. Sharp focus, balanced lighting and the proper exposure are set automatically. This frees you to compose and shoot.

Natural unposed pictures are easy. No more dragging people out to squint in the sun. We'll give you wonderful light under trees, hats and porch roofs.

Our Autofocus 660 gives you sonar focusing, a "sunshine" reach of 2 to 14 feet, a folding strobe unit which protects the lens and prohibits accidental firing, automatic motor drive and close-up capability from 2 feet. Just press the button and the picture is developing in your hand.

Our Autofocus 660 is $95.* Also look at our fixed-focus Model 640 (with a "sunshine" reach of 4 to 10 feet) to get Sun Camera technology for $70.* If you have any questions, call us any weekday, 9a.m. to 5p.m., toll free at 800-343-5000. In Massachusetts call collect 617-494-8266.

*Suggested retail price. Initial quantities limited.

struggle began. Says Dollar of the four days that finally led to guilty verdicts for three of the defendants: "It was so tense in there it was mind-boggling. One juror, Barbara Freeman, was pounding on the table, calling those guys animals. She was hollering, 'Murder one! Murder one!' " Says Freeman, an advertising production manager: "It's a real skin stripper. You find out a lot about yourself. I came out not liking myself. I was impatient and in general pretty intolerable."

Sometimes the juries' efforts to reach a verdict verge on farce. In Miami, for example, a jury deliberated for more than six hours on whether four defendants had paid undercover agents $220,000 for 15 lbs. of cocaine. The jurors said they were deadlocked. U.S. District Judge Sidney Aronovitz asked them to try again. Three hours later, they returned with verdicts —three convictions and an acquittal. When the judge began polling them on whether this was the correct verdict, according to their consciences, the very first juror said, "No."

The judge sent them back again. A few minutes later, they returned with the same verdicts. Polled again, Juror No. 1 agreed, but Juror No. 5 said, "No, it's not my verdict." Again the judge sent them back; again they returned and confirmed their verdicts, but as one defense lawyer said, "We noticed Juror No. 11 kick the back of Juror No. 5's chair when it was her turn." Lawyers asked that Jurors 1 and 5 be polled separately, and they again repudiated their verdicts. Sent back a fourth time, the jurors deliberated half an hour more, then returned with the same verdicts and stood by them. But after the trial was declared over, Jurors 1 and 5 accosted two defendants and apologized for the verdicts. According to affidavits filed by these defendants, the repentant jurors said that two other jurors who wanted to go on vacation the next day had insisted on verdicts that night, that two jurors swung at each other, that four who wanted acquittals were "browbeaten into submission," and that one juror had slept through most of the argument. Last week the whole case was back in court as defense lawyers sought a new trial.

Occasionally, the jurors simply cease to function at all. In Washington this spring, ten jurors wanted to convict three

Eight Months to a Verdict

Each morning at 7:30, they were awakened by sheriff's deputies and escorted under guard to their breakfast, then to the sheriff's bus that took them to the grimy criminal-courts building on Chicago's West Side. Day after day, they sat in silence as witnesses testified about the killing of three guards in the Pontiac state prison riot of 1978. Then they were herded back to the hotel, where the deputies monitored all their phone calls, surveyed them while they took exercise and enforced a TV curfew after 10 p.m.

Reasonable enough treatment of prisoners. But these were not the defendants; they were the jurors. The trial was the prosecution of the so-called Pontiac Ten, which dragged on for nearly eight months until last May, making it one of the longest criminal trials in U.S. history. More than 1,000 potential jurors were questioned by batteries of lawyers, and each side had 120 peremptory challenges. Jury selection alone took five months, and the jurors were sequestered during the whole trial. "How would I describe the experience?" asks Juror Harry Chartrand, 64, a retired electrical worker. "In two words: Lousy."

During the quasi imprisonment, one juror missed out on a job that would have doubled his salary, one had to prepare for and take an entrance exam to graduate school, and two endured the deaths of close relatives. Conjugal visits were permitted only on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. Jeffrey Vacek, 23, a computer technician, says of the separation from his steady girlfriend, "It was hell." Because of the boredom and isolation, the jurors, like many other kinds of captives, began to develop an obsession with food. "The main thing was eating," recalls Sherman Frooman, 53, a clothing salesman. "But after all that restaurant food, sometimes I just wanted a simple hot dog."

Despite the irritations, most of the twelve jurors and six alternates accepted their fate with equanimity. One reason was that Judge Ben K. Miller made a special effort to bar any juror who would regard the long sequestration as a genuine hardship. Says he: "I simply don't think that anyone who is angry or resentful will be an impartial juror. And there is the risk that he might taint the rest of the jury."

One oddity was that five of the jurors were under 24, all singles who had been living at home with their parents, and they naturally formed a social group. They invented a cocktail they called the "Pontiac" (Amaretto and soda with a twist of lime). They held occasional mock trials at which one of them proved adept at imitating the lawyers involved in the case. On April Fools' Day, Linda Tumino, 21, hid in the back of the sheriff's bus and caused a momentary panic among the deputies when they found themselves missing one juror. "All it was was party, party, party," complains one of the older jurors, but a younger one hotly defends the antics as "creative ways of relieving boredom."

The deputies also organized entertainments for the jurors: a trip to the harness races, a werewolf movie, a sightseeing tour, a night at the Shriners' circus, a lavish prime-rib meal (for which the jurors had to ante up because the cost exceeded the dinner allowance of $16), plus weekly shopping trips for snacks and toilet articles. But everywhere the jurors went, the deputies went too. All the defendants had been members of Chicago street gangs, and the authorities did not want to take any chances on attacks or disruptions by other gang members. "It was like a giant baby-sitting service," says Vacek.

The actual presentation of evidence took 67 days but proved remarkably inconclusive. Because prison officials had justifiably concentrated on disarming and locking up the 700 rioting convicts, they failed to produce such key evidence as murder weapons and fingerprints. The jurors finally took only five hours of deliberation to acquit all ten defendants. "I'm sure some of them must have been guilty of something," says Tumino, "but the state had no evidence."

Finally, the jurors returned to lives that they had half-forgotten. "We got so spoiled that it was a real shock to have to drive yourself around and pay for your meals," says Rosalie Cyrier, 20. Adds Tumino: "For the first few days, it was kind of weird being able to talk to anybody you wanted." Salesman Frooman, the one who lost the job prospect, went good-naturedly back to work. "It was a drag because it was so long," he says, "but the jury system is the best system there is."

THE CLARITY OF OUR SHARPEST PICTURE EVER. THE FIDELITY OF 4 SPEAKERS. THE VERSATILITY OF 112 CHANNELS. ZENITH HAS NEVER BEEN CLOSER TO PERFECTION.

There's never been a television set like it. It's Zenith System 3. And it's the best Zenith ever.

You get the sharpest picture in Zenith history on all 19" and 25" (diagonal) System 3 models. 25% sharper than ordinary TV, because of Zenith's patented PRP circuitry. You receive all the picture detail a TV station transmits.

You get up to four acoustically matched and balanced speakers. Woofers up to 8", tweeters up to 2¼". In some models, you even get a 10-watt* amplifier and separate bass and treble controls.

You get a TV that on most models has 112-channel capability. That's every VHF and UHF channel in the country—plus 42 cable channels.

And you can get the ultimate in remote control convenience—Computer Space Command. It turns the set on or off, adjusts volume, scans or changes channels—up or down. Even prints out the channel and the time. (If you don't want all that incredible convenience, there are 29 other models without Space Command.)

That's not all. You can preprogram most Zenith System 3 models to turn on and off automatically. This new Time Control Programmer can be activated (or deactivated) by Computer Space Command.

Many of the System 3 models feature Advanced Space Phone.™ Push the Space Phone button and your Zenith works just like a remote telephone. You can take or make calls just like you would with any push-button phone.

Finally, System 3 is a stay-at-home set. Its chassis is 100% modular, with snap-in modules. If you ever need repairs, this unique design makes in-home service almost a sure thing.

Zenith System 3. Zenith has never been closer to perfection.

ZENITH
SYSTEM 3

ZENITH®
THE QUALITY GOES IN BEFORE THE NAME GOES ON.®

teen-agers of raping a 14-year-old girl, but the other two reportedly spent their time swilling whisky from paper cups until a mistrial was declared. "They weren't passed out," said Foreman Robert Smoot, "but they were drinking and loud-talking and not agreeing with anything."

Jurors today may confront problems of a complexity quite unknown to medieval English juries, or even to Thomas Jefferson. Consider, for example, the lawsuit that the National Union Electric Corp. filed in 1970, charging unfair competition by its Japanese rivals. For more than ten years, 24 Japanese corporations and subsidiaries, represented by 20 different law firms, have been embroiled in the preliminaries—100,000 pages of pre-

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY JAMES GRASHOW

trial depositions, 20 million documents.

NUE was joined by Zenith in demanding a jury trial of their complaints, but some of the Japanese protested that the case was too complicated. (The Japanese also took a poll and found that many potential jurors still harbored prejudices based on memories of Pearl Harbor.) "We argued that there was no way a jury could fairly and correctly decide this case," says Joel Harris of the New York law firm of Weil, Gotshal & Manges, who pleaded the issue for Matsushita. "It would deny the parties' right to due process to have the trial before a jury that could not understand the case."

Federal Judge Edward R. Becker strongly disagreed. There was no such thing, he ruled, as a case "too complicated" for a jury. The Third Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals, in turn, overruled him by a 2-to-1 vote. It said that certain extraordinary cases could indeed be too complicated and instructed Becker to determine whether this was such a case. Said the appeals court: "When a jury is unable to perform its decision-making task with a reasonable understanding of the evidence and legal rules, it undermines the ability of a district court to render basic justice." Becker then granted a summary judgment on the whole case in favor of the Japanese in March. Unless this judgment is reversed on appeal, the case will never go to trial at all.

But what is a jury unable to understand? "The idea that juries can't understand complicated cases is pure unadulterated horsefeathers," says Chicago Attorney Max Wildman, whose cases have involved all the intricacies of medical and airline liability. "It's the job of a lawyer to reduce a complicated situation to something that can be understood by the average person." Adds University of Pennsylvania Criminologist Marvin Wolfgang: "There are words in the law that are almost impossible to define, and 'too complicated' would be among them."

Granted the principle that a jury can theoretically deal with anything, a number of reforms are being tested to make them deal with it more effectively. The most fundamental break with tradition has been a move toward smaller juries and toward verdicts reached by less than unanimous votes. Since 1971, 85 of 95 federal district courts have gradually begun using juries of six to eight members to hear civil cases. Thirty-eight states have adopted similar reductions in size for some civil cases and 34 for some criminal cases. Though all federal jury verdicts must be unanimous, 29 states now permit less-than-unanimous votes in certain civil cases and five in criminal cases. These developments have speeded up the process of reaching verdicts, not only saving time and money but paying heed to the principle that justice delayed is justice denied.

There are thoughtful observers, however, who believe that justice requires a price to be paid, and that justice hurried may also be justice denied. Zeisel, for one, protests that "to have juries of only six people deciding cases worth millions, allegedly for reasons of parsimony, is grotesque." Using smaller juries also reduces the chance of getting a broad cross section of the community, and nonunanimous verdicts increase the risk that minority points of view will simply be overridden. Moreover, although nonunanimous verdicts reduce the problem of hung juries, Jack Peebles, an assistant district attorney in New Orleans, emphatically declares that "if a man goes to jail, it should be because there is no reasonable doubt about his guilt. There should be a unanimous verdict."

Smaller and less controversial reforms would also prove useful. Letting the jurors take notes, for instance, is forbidden in some states and frowned on in many. The prevailing theory is that the taking of notes intimidates those who do not take notes and encourages jurors to give their notes undue weight as evidence, but it seems burdensome to force everyone to rely largely on memory throughout even the most elaborate case. Though it has been determined that jurors often do not understand the judge's instructions, it has also been determined that legal instructions are often unnecessarily hard to understand. The Florida supreme court, for one, issued in June a comprehensive new set of standardized jury instructions ranging from the definition of manslaughter to the meaning of hearsay, all written in plain English.

These are steps toward greater efficiency and commendable as such, but efficiency is not really the goal or the purpose of the jury system. It is, instead, a symbol of the idea that experts are fallible and that a citizen's security is best protected by his fellow citizens. Like many of the unwieldy instruments of representative democracy, therefore, it is designed as a check on the machinery of coercion, a check that provides time for mulling over not just the question of guilt or innocence but the conflicts in what society demands of its members and of itself. ***—By Otto Friedrich. Reported by Evan Thomas/Washington, with other U.S. bureaus***

We give you one thing other car rental companies don't. Everything.

Guaranteed pricing. There are no surprises at Hertz. Just ask us and we'll tell you in writing what your final rental charges are *before* you go.*

Special deals on vacation wheels. Whether you're going to Florida, California or anywhere in the world, Hertz has special deals to make your vacation dollars go farther.

No charge for mileage. At Hertz, we give you free, unlimited mileage–any car, anywhere, round-trip or one-way.*

Fast take-offs from airports. When you reserve your Hertz car, ask for our #1 Express Service™ and you can go right from your plane to your car without stopping at the rental counter. (Available at most major airports.)

More help to help. Hertz has more friendly people ready to help you than anyone. So call 1-800-654-3131 for reservations and we'll take it from there.

The world's largest fleet. With a fleet of cars big enough to stretch from Detroit to New York, chances are we've got the car you want–when you want it.

Hertz

*Guaranteed Pricing available at all Hertz corporate and participating licensee locations in the U.S. Refueling charges and state and local taxes are not included. On some one-way there may be a drop-off charge.

#1 For Everyone.

Hertz rents Fords and other fine cars.

Egypt's Copts in Crisis

The oldest Christian community fights for a tenuous security

When Egyptian President Anwar Sadat cracked down two weeks ago on religious militants who oppose his regime, one of his targets was the Coptic Orthodox Church, the ancient Christian community that has survived in Egypt since its establishment by the Apostle Mark in the 1st century A.D. Sadat abruptly stripped the Coptic Pope, Shenouda III, of his authority, banished him to a desert monastery, and ordered the arrest of some 125 Coptic clergy and lay activists. The world was shocked, but many members of the church hierarchy were considerably relieved. For at least a year, they had been concerned that the Pope's controversial leadership was leading the Christian community into serious trouble with Egypt's newly assertive Muslim majority. The climate of sectarian strife had resulted in several violent incidents in the past three months, including three days of communal rioting in a Cairo slum housing project that caused at least 17 deaths.

Father Matta el Meskin, one of Egypt's most influential Coptic clergymen, told TIME Correspondent Robert C. Wurmstedt last week, "I can't say I'm happy, but I am at peace now. Every morning I was expecting news of more bloody collisions. Sadat's actions protect the church and the Copts. They are from God."

From God they may have come, but Matta played a large part in their shaping. The abbot of St. Macarius monastery near Cairo, Matta was summoned to Alexandria by Sadat a week before the crackdown. Sadat and Matta discussed ways of defusing the looming crisis. Sadat asked Matta how far he could push Shenouda. The abbot says he outlined Sadat's limits in dealing with the Pope. When the ouster was decided on, it was Matta who submitted the names of five bishops who would collectively take over the Pope's functions.

Shenouda, 58, crowned ten years ago, was educated as a teacher. He served as an army officer in the 1948 Arab-Israeli war and was then trained by Matta in the 1950s to become a monk. Shenouda, says Matta, is the best educated Pope in church history. But, he adds, "Shenouda's appointment was the beginning of the trouble. The mind replaced inspiration, and planning replaced prayer. For the first years I prayed for him, but I see the church is going from bad to worse because of his behavior."

Shenouda has led a religious revival that fostered the ethnic identity of Egypt's Copts as a nation separate from, and older than, the Muslim majority. Indeed, many Copts feel that they, and not the Arabized Muslims, are the true Egyptians, the descendants of the pharaohs. As they are quick to point out, "Copt" is the Arabicized, then Europeanized, form of the Greek word for Egyptian. Although the Coptic language is used today only in the church's liturgy, it was the language of Egypt until the 13th century.

Pope Shenouda III of the Coptic church

Bearing the cross proudly among Muslims.

Shenouda aggressively resisted the increasing Islamization of the country: in 1977, for example, he called on Copts to undertake a four-day fast to protest proposed legislation that would make it a capital crime to renounce Islam. The bill threatened Christians who convert to Islam to avoid stringent Coptic divorce laws, then apostatize once proceedings are over. The bill was shelved. He also complained often and bitterly that the government did not do enough to protect Copts from violent persecution by Muslim fanatics. Last year, after a reported series of church burnings, attacks on clergymen and forced conversions, Shenouda canceled all Easter celebrations except religious services and boycotted Holy Week rites. That spring, President Sadat alleges, he encouraged the 100,000 Copts living in the U.S. to stage embarrassing demonstrations during Sadat's visit to Washington and New York City. Increasingly angered by Shenouda's actions, Sadat, who has tried hard to cultivate good relations with his country's Christians, accused the "new leadership" of the Coptic church of engaging in a "conspiracy" to blacken his name and the image of Egypt's Muslims.

Shenouda's confrontational activities coincided with a marked increase in Islamic fervor and militancy among the country's Muslims, and in the wake of the violent incidents this spring and summer, some Copts began to fear for their physical safety. As Matta puts it: "All of us are in this dilemma, [because] Muslims feel Shenouda is a threat to Islam and the Koran. He was working against the line of the government and moderate Muslims." Most Copts feel that Shenouda's ouster is a tolerable price to pay for communal peace

This is not the first time the Copts, the world's oldest organized Christian body, have walked a tricky tightrope. In the church's first centuries, the Patriarchate of Alexandria, with its eminent school of theology, was second only to Rome as the major see of the early church. In the mid-5th century, however, the Coptic church defied orthodox Christian teaching by adhering to the so-called Monophysite heresy, the belief that Jesus Christ had one nature that mystically united his humanity and divinity, rather than two distinct natures, human and divine. Schism ensued, and Coptic Christians were persecuted under the Byzantine Empire.

After the Arab conquest of 641, the Copts resisted the onslaught of Islam for two centuries. But as a result of periodic cycles of persecution under successive Muslim conquerors, and waves of immigration from Arabia, the Copts were reduced from a majority to a minority. Today, according to official census figures, they constitute less than 10% of Egypt's 43 million population (Copts complain, however, that they are systematically undercounted). They are the largest Christian entity in any Middle Eastern country, with small communities in the U.S. and Canada, South Africa, Australia and other countries.

Given the area's background of sectarian violence, the possibility that the Copts could be swept under by a tide of Islamic fundamentalism seems less remote than before. But the Copts have shown a gift for survival. As one elderly Copt puts it: "To be a Copt is to be threatened, but we bear the cross proudly among the Muslims and we are ready to die for it." *—By Sara Medina. Reported by Nathaniel Harrison and Robert C. Wurmstedt/Cairo*

El Sourian Monastery, to which Shenouda has been banished

Work Is for Man, Not Man for Work

John Paul's third encyclical exalts the dignity of toil

Again and again during the three years of his reign, Pope John Paul II has reaffirmed the Roman Catholic Church's message that man has an intrinsic worth and dignity, and any system that degrades that worth or undermines that dignity is wrong. In his many speeches and in his first two encyclicals, he has expressed his concern for the welfare of the individual, criticized the dehumanizing aspects of modern life and committed the church to the cause of social justice.

Last week, in his third encyclical, or formal policy-setting letter to the Roman Catholic Church, John Paul underlined those concerns, this time through the theme of human work. He had intended to issue the 24,000-word document, titled *Laborem Exercens* (On Working), last spring in connection with the 90th anniversary of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, the first Catholic document devoted to social questions. Its release, however, had to await his recovery from the bullet wounds he suffered last May. "It is only after my stay in hospital," he explains at the end of the document, "that I have been able to revise it definitively."

John Paul II at Castel Gandolfo

Labor unions are indispensable.

In restating the church's teaching on human work, John Paul repeatedly cites God's command to man in *Genesis* to "subdue the earth." The Pope interprets this to mean that man is the "subject of labor" and that "work is 'for man,' and never man 'for work.'" He asserts the priority of labor over capital and, while restating the church's belief in the right to private property, argues that this right is not absolute but "subordinate to the right to common use, to the fact that goods are meant for everyone."

He condemns laissez-faire capitalism because it reduces man to an instrument of production, but praises "worker solidarity." The socialization of some means of production cannot be ruled out, he says, but converting them into state property may be unsatisfactory because socialism often produces "excessive bureaucratic centralization," which exploits the worker as if he were "just a cog in a huge machine." John Paul feels that adaptations of property rights, including "joint ownership of the means of work, or sharing by workers in the management and/or profits of businesses," may be the most desirable course.

Labor unions receive sympathetic treatment in the encyclical. John Paul believes unions are an "indispensable element" for defending the rights of working people. He endorses strikes but does warn that they are an extreme means and "must not be abused, especially for political purposes." Indeed, unions should not "play politics." This is a message that may fall on deaf ears in many Western European and Third World nations, where unions have long been politicized.

Although the encyclical contains no reference to any particular union, it is difficult to avoid connecting his declarations with Solidarity, the embattled labor federation in the Pope's native Poland: his support is implicit in the document's many references to "solidarity."

Finally, in discussing the rights of workers, including fair wages and medical benefits, John Paul comes to what for the church has proved a vexing question: the role of women. He emphasizes that women have the right to "fulfill their tasks in accordance with their own nature, without being discriminated against and without being excluded from jobs for which they are capable." But he declares that the "true advancement for women requires that labor should be structured [so that] women do not have to pay for their advancement by abandoning what is specific to them," their "irreplaceable role" as mothers.

No doubt some Western feminists will deplore John Paul's somewhat retrograde analysis of women's work. In many countries, especially in Eastern Europe, women are forced to work in order to achieve a decent living standard for their families, and birth rates have plummeted. But the fact is that the encyclical announces general principles and ethical ideals, not strategies, and is addressed to working people in every part of the globe. Individuals are thus left free to draw from it the spiritual and social guidance they most need. ■

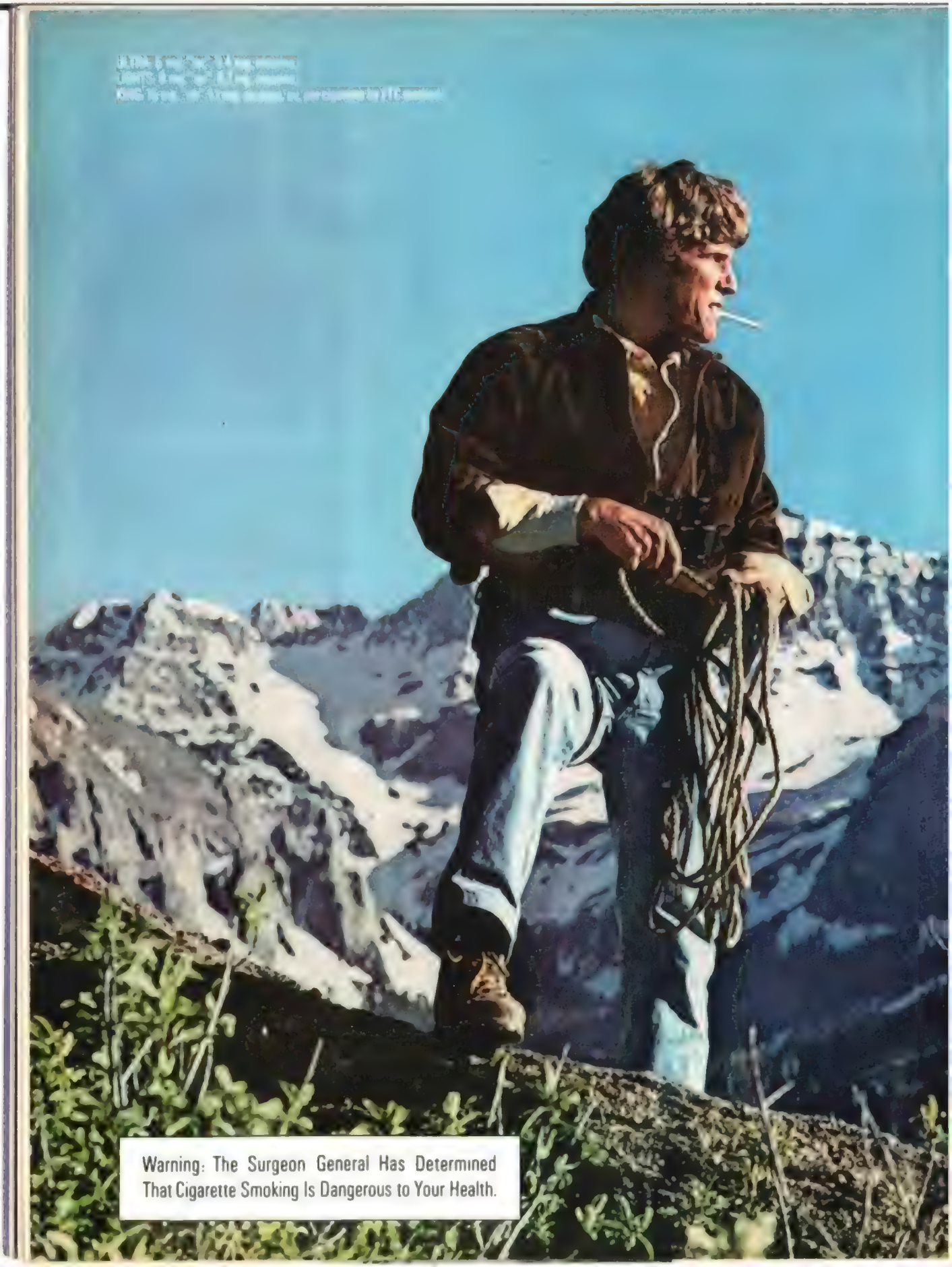
freedom

Freedom is
the very law of life,
life itself
is rooted in freedom.
We are not
machines,
we are not
pre-programmed,
we are utter freedoms.
Now it is up to us,
what to make of it.
You have to take
your life into
your own hands,
and you
are responsible for it.
No fate is responsible,
no destiny is responsible,
you have to
create yourself
by your own effort.
The total responsibility
is yours.

Bhagwan
Shree Rajneesh

Video • Tapes • Books • Photographs
For a free catalogue call or write:

Chidvilas
Rajneesh Meditation Center
P.O. Box 12A, Antelope, OR 97001
Dept. TF Phone: (503) 489-3301


Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

© 1981 R.J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO CO.

Salem

Above all in refreshment.

TV Tremors

Two networks score coups

When Veteran Newscaster David Brinkley, 61, abruptly announced earlier this month that he was leaving NBC News after 38 years, he pointedly scotched any retirement rumors. He was going home to Washington, D.C., he said, "to do what I've always done—cover politics." Last week beaming ABC News executives confirmed that, come November, he'll be doing just that for them. Brinkley's assignment: anchoring a new, hour-long successor to *Issues and Answers* on Sunday mornings, providing political commentary for ABC *World News Tonight*, and, in 1982 and 1984, doing what he has always done best—covering elections.

News of the deal surfaced just hours before John Chancellor wound up NBC's *Nightly News* last Friday with a fond farewell to his colleague: "As a writer, he is simply the best. As a stylist, he is impossible to imitate." Quite true, but Brinkley's NBC bosses seemed almost to have forgotten that during the past year. In fact, it was their growing indifference that finally prompted his exit. Insiders reported that he was frustrated with the network's back-burner treatment of his *NBC Magazine with David Brinkley*. The show was pitted first against CBS's top-rated *Dallas*, later against *The Incredible Hulk*. Brinkley denied reports of contractual disputes with NBC News President William Small. More significant, perhaps, was the news that *Today* Host Tom Brokaw will anchor *Nightly News* with Roger Mudd starting next April. Said Brinkley last week: "I'm not happy to be leaving, but there's nothing at NBC that I really want to do."

That will not be a problem at ABC, which seems to have granted him everything NBC refused. Brinkley's switch marks a major victory in ABC News President Roone Arledge's drive to build what he calls "the best bench in town." In the past two years, Arledge has tried to hire Dan Rather, Tom Brokaw and PBS's Robert MacNeil and courted almost every other news star in the business. Signing Brinkley permits Arledge to go ahead with the new Sunday-morning show —scheduled to air from 11:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. E.S.T.—providing an alternative to early-riser Charles Kuralt on CBS. On Friday night, incredulous ABC News staffers were still recovering from the shock waves. Said one: "I do not know why NBC couldn't find a way to accommodate him. He is *the* most eminent newsman." Many of Brinkley's colleagues at NBC bitterly agreed. Said one News producer: "It's crazy. You just don't throw away your most experienced reporter. Brinkley is the last of the great ones." Acknowledged CBS News President Bill Leonard: "David will be an asset. He's been a good competitor, a fine newsman and a fine writer, and he'll continue to be."

With NBC executive at farewell party

A sad departure, and a stunning new deal

■ ■ ■

If the champagne was flowing at ABC News last week, third-place NBC News had its own coup to celebrate. After months of cajoling and arm twisting, the network won the backing of its affiliates' board of directors to press for a one-hour nightly newscast. If the board can persuade NBC's 213 affiliated stations to give up the lucrative half-hour of local programming that currently follows the network news, NBC could take the first step in expanding the evening news since 1963, when CBS stretched its *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite* from 15 minutes to half an hour. Even if the affiliates agree, a further hurdle remains to be leaped: the repeal of the FCC's 1971 "prime-time access" ruling granting local stations a half-hour slot of prime-time broadcasting. Industry sources doubt, however, that such a repeal would be long in coming. "The prime-time ruling was designed to protect the affiliates," says one. "If NBC's stations say yes, CBS's and ABC's will be close behind, and at that point, who is the FCC to stand in the way?" Said an elated Tom Brokaw: "I'm delighted, and grateful to our affiliate board. I'm crossing my fingers, legs and everything else." ■

Short Takes

HARPER'S FINDS A HEAD

Ever since *Harper's* Editor Lewis Lapham, 46, announced his resignation last month, the troubled 131-year-old monthly (circ: 336,000) has been engaged in an intense head-hunting expedition. Last week the search committee, headed by Rutgers English Professor Richard Poirier, chose Lapham's replacement: Michael Kinsley, 30, Harvard graduate, lawyer and an editor since 1976 of the *New Republic* (circ. 97,000). Says *Harper's* Publisher David Michaels: "He is young, and he was the one person we saw who seemed to present any solid opinion about what we should do for the magazine." Among the others considered: *Esquire* Editor Byron Dobell; Author and former *Esquire* Editor Harold Hayes; *Atlantic* Washington Editor James Fallows; LIFE Editor Jon Larsen. Some of these more experienced heads may have shied away from the daunting task of edging the journal back from the brink of extinction. Just last year, *Harper's* announced it was folding, then was rescued at the eleventh hour through the combined efforts of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and the Atlantic Richfield Foundation. The magazine's saviors have so far pumped in an estimated $3 million, but its prospects remain clouded. Kinsley, who will take charge of the journal with next January's issue, confesses he has "a lot of little ideas, but no grand scheme." Still, he made the right impression: "I convinced them I was going to make it scintillating and profitable."

END OF *THE EARTH DIARY*

In May of 1979, with loud optimism about the American reader and the American dollar, German publishers Gruner & Jahr introduced *Geo* magazine, a pricey ($4 per issue), richly produced journal aimed at luring young, up-scale readers away from *National Geographic* (circ. 10 million). Instead, *Geo's* diffuse, often pretentious photojournalistic essays drove many readers away; circulation reached only 256,000, short of the planned 300,000. A promotion campaign dubbing it *The Earth Diary* seemed a futile echo of the '60s. Last week, after losing about $30 million—plus three publishers and three managing editors —Gruner & Jahr sold their ad-starved, troubled magazine to Knapp Communications (*Architectural Digest, Bon Appetit*). In exchange, Gruner & Jahr promised to help test-market Knapp's other magazines in Europe. Predicts President Cleon Knapp, who quickly named former *New West* Executive T. Swift Lockhard as *Geo's* fifth publisher: "We're not going to report on the sordid part of our world. We're going to celebrate it." Also on his mind: drop *The Earth Diary* subtitle and lower that forbidding newsstand price.

Pure Knowledge *vs.* Pure Profit

For universities, corporate research grants are a mixed blessing

Doctor Joseph Davie was caught in a dilemma. Davie, head of the microbiology and immunology department at Washington University's School of Medicine in St. Louis, was coordinating a joint effort among 15 university laboratories to create hybridomas, cells that produce the protein antibodies that attack viruses and bacteria. He wanted to be sure that any discoveries made in the labs could swiftly be applied in practical medicine. He also hoped to find more money so the project could continue its basic research.

Davie got in touch with Mallinckrodt Inc., a St. Louis medical supply company also engaged in hybridoma research. The result: a $3.8 million three-year agreement in which Washington University gets funding for research and Mallinckrodt gets copies of all resulting scientific papers—before their publication. If any discoveries are commercially viable, the university will hold the patent and receive royalties; Mallinckrodt will have an exclusive license to market the product. Says Mallinckrodt President Raymond Bentele: "The agreement allows the university to do what it does best—that is, basic research—and it allows us to do what we do best, develop usable products."

In an era of cutbacks in federal grants to education, universities are increasingly being forced to turn to industry for help, and companies are increasingly coming through with money. Although corporate funds still account for only 6% of the nearly $3 billion spent annually on basic university research, contributions have risen dramatically this year, especially in contract grants that demand something in return. At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, private help has jumped from $6 million in 1979 to $18 million this year. At M.I.T. Exxon is financing an $8 million project on combustion research. Harvard Medical School has announced a $6 million grant from Du Pont for genetic research. Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh has signed a $5 million contract with Westinghouse to fund the Robotics Institute, granting Westinghouse first patent rights on any research findings. Dartmouth College receives $75,000 a year from DePuy, a medical manufacturer, to develop prosthetic hip replacements. Columbia University has hired a director of corporate relations just to woo more corporate aid

Can the pursuit of pure knowledge be compatible with the pursuit of profit? Some observers are skeptical. Corporate funding provides a boost to research and is relatively free of the red tape that often entangles Government grants. Yet one ideal of a university, however fitfully adhered to, is the sharing of information. Most contract grants between business and universities allow the donor corporation to review findings before publication, ensure exclusive patent rights and sometimes keep key data secret so competitors will not get them. While many technological breakthroughs have resulted from purely theoretical research, corporations tend to be more interested in encouraging short-term solutions to specific problems or in developing products. Concedes Wilbert Ferguson, a Westinghouse engineering director, discussing his firm's arrangement with Carnegie-Mellon: "There may be an element of support for academic research, but we really are trying to get as much out of it as we can."

Rich and prestigious institutions like Cal Tech, Harvard, M.I.T. and Stanford are able to dictate strong terms, including university control of patents and freedom to publish all research; the donor company usually just gets first bid on licensing. Says James Lewis, director of projects and grants at Columbia: "We want no publishing restrictions, no undue influence on courses and research, and no classified or secret research." But many universities accede to less favorable agreements. At Texas A & M, which gets 35% of its $30 million research budget from corporations, W. Arthur Porter, director of the Texas Engineering Experiment Station, acknowledges, "We're tied to delivering results."

A business-funded project at Dartmouth
"We're tied to delivering results."

Earlier this month, faculty members at Stanford and the University of California at Berkeley introduced an ingenious corporate structure to regulate funding and profits with less danger of compromising research priorities. They created a nonprofit Center for Biotechnology Research and have already raised $2.4 million from six major corporations, including General Foods and Bendix, to fund research. If the research develops into fruitful ventures, profits will come under the jurisdiction of a separate company called Engenics. Since the center owns 30% equity in Engenics, those profits will enable the center to aid university research, no strings attached. Says Harvey Blanch, U C professor of chemical engineering and a founder of Engenics: "I think this type of arrangement is a first." With Government grants decreasing and inflation pressing, it is not likely to be a last. ■

ABC Coverage

Chronicle of lower education

Education is a subject that touches the heart and the pocketbook of millions of Americans. But it is usually spoken of, and written about, in the glutinous jargon of educators, guaranteed to obfuscate the issues and glaze the eye. This month, however, public discourse about education got a little affirmative action in the form of a new weekly newspaper called *Education Week*. The 24-page tabloid is published in Washington, D.C., by Editorial Projects in Education Inc., a nonprofit, tax-exempt organization that founded and later sold the sprightly, respected *Chronicle of Higher Education*. At a yearly subscription rate of $39.94 (charter subscribers pay $19.97), *Education Week* claims to report the ABC's of primary and secondary education, the two areas where American pedagogy is most in need of dramatic improvement. Says Editor Ronald Wolk, a former magazine editor and educational administrator: "Our objective is to become American education's newspaper of record."

Education Week's first edition offered a splendid scoop: a series of excerpts from the 91-page secret memo written by Secretary of Education Terrel Bell telling how he plans to dismantle the Education Department and change the Government's role in education. Wolk's staff of 20 provides a weekly summary of education news in short takes, plus clear but comprehensive studies of major issues. One notable example: a detailed and trenchant analysis of the status and achievements of busing just as the policy is about to be abandoned. The paper's 19,000 charter subscribers are mostly educational policymakers—state officials, school superintendents and principals. So far, *Education Week* seems to deserve an A. ■

General Hospital: Critical Case

It is TV's top soap; there must be a reason

Day 1. Useless to resist. It is everywhere. On T shirts, umbrellas, potholders, even nightgowns. Puzzles. Piggy banks. At Harvard, where they had a *General Hospital* weekend. It is a campus craze, a teen-age fad, a licensing bonanza and the top-rated soap on the tube, leaving *All My Children* and *One Life to Live* in the dust. Some 12 million people watch it every afternoon (3 to 4 p.m. E.S.T.). Have laid in provisions, disconnected phone. Must watch *General Hospital*.

Approach first day's viewing with trepidation. Last soap opera seen was Senator Harrison Williams claiming innocence during breaks in the Abscam hearings. First scenes not reassuring: a short man in a blue blazer, with eyes that glint like brass buttons, is carrying through hideous plot. Details as thin as his hair, which is combed forward in little bangs. A sure sign of flabby moral fiber and questionable sexual orientation. Only precedent, either thespian or tonsorial, is Frank Thring as Pontius Pilate in *Ben-Hur*. What he did to Charlton Heston the fellow in the blue blazer is doing to Port Charles, the town in which General Hospital is situated. Mr. Blue Blazer turns out to be Mikkos Cassadine, an amuck plutocrat who means to create "a brave new world." Wants to set the planet an example of his terrible power by freezing Port Charles into submission. Confused: consult *TV Guide*, which verifies program is *General Hospital*, not *Flash Gordon*.

Scene switches to jungle. Jungle? I think I may be going mad. Apparently outside Cassadine lair. Couple asleep in the undergrowth. Young. Trendy. First on line to buy tickets for an E.L.O. concert? No, they have come to rescue a friend, Scorpio, who is in Cassadine's clutches. They are Luke and Laura. Apparently account for the show's "youth appeal." Luke wears a shirt with cutoff sleeves and a gold chain. Laura is illegitimate daughter of Dr. Lesley Webber. Dr. Rick Webber adopted her when he married her mother, but now Rick and Lesley are divorced. Pity. Who is Dr. Rick Webber? Notice Laura wears Woodstock Indian headband. Youth appeal? Learn that Luke stole her heart forever by raping her on a deserted dance floor in 1979.

I am quite certain that I am mad. But my doctor insists that I merely have *General Hospital*-itis. There is a lot of it going around. He has had it since the show's first broadcast in 1963. He tells me that the action really exploded when ABC brought in Gloria Monty as producer in 1978. Monty allowed that Laura's rape was really "a choreographed seduction." Says that show does not go as heavy on sex as some of the other soaps. Recent shows prove that, alas, most sexual activity is indeed conversational. Monty also claims she "didn't consciously go for a young audience." Can think of no other reason, however, to cast Sanforized Rocker Rick Springfield as an eager young doctor. Springfield's career has received boost from exposure, including No. 1 single, *Jessie's Girl*. Fortunately, role does not require him to sing.

Finally meet Dr. Rick Webber. He is efficient, take-charge type. Conscience of the hospital. Upright as a tent pole. He and staff worry about overtaxing their facilities during the cold snap. In the basement of a nearby beanery called Kelly's, a blond named Rose has a hunk named Hutch hidden in the cellar between shelves of preserves. His shoulders are as wide as the passing lane on a freeway, and he seems to be a criminal. A flashback, however, shows him telling a young boy, "Don't make friends with bad guys," so suspect he just may be misunderstood. Police are looking for Hutch. Babies in the hospital are ailing. The nurses all wear sweaters and wonder what's causing the crazy weather. All this to quivery music that is part Isaac Hayes (*Shaft*) and part Milton DeLugg (*Junior Miss Pageant*). It occurs to me that perhaps my doctor is mad.

Day 2. Woke in a cold sweat, refrain ringing in my ears, "No one's feeling well/ At General Hospital." Waking nightmare turned out to be clock radio, playing *General Hospital* by Joanne Cipolla and her Planet Street band. Hear that ABC has not taken kindly to the song. Sued Composer Cipolla for "copyright infringement" and "trademark dilution," asking $500,000 damages. Cipolla countersued ABC citing "unfair competition and unlawful interference." As new episode flickers on, everyone at the hospital is concerned about the steadily sinking temperatures. Dr. Rick Webber remains the calm eye in the snowstorm, making emergency plans. Government types plead with adamant Cassadine: "Give us time, give us time, in all human decency." Cassadine sneers and adjusts his blazer. Luke and Laura penetrate his defenses, disguise themselves in coveralls and helmets and strike bizarre resemblance to two exterminators posing for *Vogue*. Next clear memory is of national anthem and test pattern. Frightened.

Day 3. Dare not sleep. Morning news offers no respite. Gossip columnist announces Gloria Monty negotiating with Elizabeth Taylor for several guest appearances as Mrs. Mikkos Cassadine. Would she have to wear bangs? Sports pages report Amos Otis and Clint Hurdle of the Kansas City Royals are taping a segment. Can they hit the long ball in subzero climate? New episode offers no clues. Dr. Rick Webber organizes emergency medical triages. Nurses hug themselves. Cassadine talks about "carbonic snow." Luke tells Cassadine he is "intelligent but misguided." Minions knock him to floor, but Cassadine postpones *coup de grâce*. Insists he will "defend" himself, hinting at long monologue of scientific explanation and political elucidation. Thought is too terrible to contemplate. Do not wait for credits. Reconnect phone, call for paramedics.

I write this as they arrive. Help at last. Nurses are here. They wear . . . sweaters. Doctor smiles disarmingly. Just time to notice name on plastic ID badge: Dr. Rick Webber.

—By Jay Cocks

Scorpio, Laura and Luke mix it up in the deep jungle far outside General Hospital

Youth appeal, "carbonic snow," a brave new world and a rape at the disco

Archaeologist Ann Kendall and colleagues talk over repairs

A partly restored canal carries a trickle of water to newly cleared terraces

Environment

Reviving Inca Waterways

In Peru, archaeologists restore an ancient means of irrigation

Fifty miles to the southeast stood Cuzco, the administrative capital of the 15th century Inca Empire and, to the Incas, "the navel of the world." Just over the granite slopes to the northwest lay Machu Picchu, a templed citadel so shrouded by mountains and mystery that no white man found it until 1911. Patallacta was between the two on a stone-paved Inca highway, part of the Royal Road that climbed and twisted more than 5,000 miles through the Andes. The town, with its 115 dwellings guarded by a hilltop fortress, probably served as "a pit stop for Incas traveling between Cuzco and Machu Picchu," says Ann Kendall, a British archaeologist who has spent 13 years studying the site. One thing is certain. Agriculture sufficient to support perhaps 5,000 people flourished at 8,000 ft. above sea level, on the high slopes of the valley of the churning Cusichaca River, a place that Kendall deems "the most beautiful in the world."

Today the land around Patallacta is powder-dry and barren. Fifteen families barely scratch a living from the soil, and almost nothing can be grown for the entire five-month dry season. How, then, did this unforgiving land once provide for so many people? The answer is etched into the granite hills around the valley: dozens of stone canals snake their way down from glacier-fed streams in the upper altitudes.

Overgrown, eroded, but still discernible, the canals were built with extraordinary ingenuity and industriousness. (Habitual sloth was a capital crime among the Incas.) The winding route from the heights down into the lower slopes was designed to divert enough water to wet the terraced plots without overflowing or bursting through the stonework. Maintenance teams had to patrol the waterways year-round to keep them clear of silt and rubble. In the 16th century the Spanish came, dreaming of El Dorado, and forced farmers to harvest gold instead of maize. Irrigation systems like the one in Patallacta were let go. Soldiers and farmers moved away. The canals were all but forgotten.

Five centuries later, Ann Kendall is trying to revive them. Her objective, beyond the usual archaeological digging and dusting, is to convert information about the past "to practical use in order to improve the economy." With a modest investment of labor, Kendall insists, Inca irrigation could pay rich dividends to this overwhelmingly poor country, where food and potable water are in chronic short supply. "I don't say that this scheme is going to empty out the slums of Lima, get people back on the land, recreate an Inca civilization," she says, "but it's possible to make this land fertile—and other land in similar circumstances—using the same methods that the Incas used."

For four summers, Kendall and an international team of volunteers, meagerly financed by a grab bag of charitable sources, have been laboring like Inca road gangs, repairing broken stonework, rebuilding terrace walls and clearing canal channels choked with debris. Aside from applying a little cement and plastic sheeting to canal beds, they have stuck to traditional Inca stoneworking techniques. So far they have managed to reirrigate only 30 acres. But even this small step forward—or backward—has begun to change some of the lives of the handful of farmers on the slopes around Patallacta. One peasant has requested and secured a $400 loan from Kendall to pay workers to fix a canal near his mountainside plot. "The fact that he would ask indicates the idea can be sold," says Kendall. "If you got 100 men to work three months together in rebuilding a system, you could turn large tracts of barren land into production."

Among her colleagues, Kendall's brand of applied archaeology is controversial. In restoring the aqueducts to working order, she may be inadvertently disturbing other fragile remnants of the ancient culture. The Peruvian government, however, applauds her efforts: earlier this year she became the first foreign woman to receive the country's Order of Merit. Luis Valcarcel, one of the pioneers of Inca archaeology, also approves. "Her project is praiseworthy," he says, "because she is not trying simply to draw up a catalogue of ruins; she is trying to restore them to their original condition." Modern Peru has much to learn from the early natives, says Valcarcel. "The Incas had a deep sense of their dependence on their *Mama-Pacha*, Mother Earth. They managed it so well all over the empire that Conqueror Hernando de Soto was moved to say: 'There was never hunger known in their realm.' " *—By Claudia Wallis. Reported by Gavin Scott/Patallacta*

CONTROLLING YOUR COSTS.

Now more than ever, Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans can help you hold down your health care costs everywhere you have a plant or office.

Employee health care benefit costs are tough to control. But Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans are uniquely equipped to help you hold down the rising cost of these benefits (which make up 90 to 95% of your health care dollar).

We can do it because we have cost containment programs to curtail your benefit costs wherever you have a plant or office.

Other carriers may talk generally about cost containment, but Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans can demonstrate just what they do wherever your company operates. You see, we keep a computerized profile of each Plan's cost containment programs. So we can tell you how we saved more than $1 billion in benefit costs alone last year.

Write for the new booklet, "The Best You Can Do For Your People. And Your Company." Box 8008, Chicago, Illinois 60680.

® Registered Service Marks of the Blue Cross Association
® Registered Service Marks of the Blue Shield Association

Blue Cross®
Blue Shield®

The Best You Can Do For Your People. And Your Company.

People

There was yet another inning of sand-lot summetry, Plains, Ga.–style last week, when Israeli Prime Minister **Menachem Begin,** 68, dropped in on former President **Jimmy Carter,** 56, and his wife **Rosalynn,** 54. There to greet his arrival was a crowd of some 1,500, many of them children in yarmulkes, shouting "*Shalom!*" Begin and Carter seemed outwardly cordial, despite past frustrations over their differences. Said **Joel Arnon,** Israeli consul general in Atlanta: "They are two strong personalities who both believe they have a direct line to God."

■

Clean-cut, clean living and oh so dimply, they were dubbed "the Ken and Barbie dolls of baseball." Los Angeles Dodgers First Baseman **Steve Garvey,** 32, and his wife **Cyndy,** 31, the bubbly co-host of the *AM Los Angeles* morning TV program, flaunted their successful, two-career connubiality. But cuteness took it on the chin last year when *Inside Sports* ran a profile of the Gar-

Steve and Cyndy: apart at last

veys entitled "Trouble in Paradise" that indicated that all was not bliss in their relationship. Steve and Cyndy have now confirmed that they have separated after nearly ten years of marriage and will seek a divorce. What will become of our adorable duo? Cyndy has left her television job, while Steve is heading for the playoffs and contemplating a future run for political office.

■

Calvin, Brooke, Andy and **Halston** were there. So too were some inveterate partygoers who travel under both their names: **Christopher Reeve** and **Jack Nicholson,** for example. But in the crush of the reopening of Manhattan's Studio 54, at least as many other notable nighttime nabobs were left out in the rain. Conspicuous by their presence inside, were former Owners **Steve Rubell** and **Ian Schrager.** All told, 10,000 invitations went out for a club that legally accommodates only 1,800. "It was so crowded," said Designer Klein after his twirl on the dance floor with Brooke, "that absolutely nothing could come between her and her Calvin."

■

Not since Big **Bill Tilden** turned the trick 56 years ago has a tennis player taken three straight U.S. Open titles. But this month at Flushing Meadow, **John McEnroe,** 22, demolished **Bjorn Borg,** 25, in four sets —4-6, 6-2, 6-4, 6-3—to do just that. Looking tired and drawn after the match, and having received threats against his life, Borg announced that he was going to take a respite from tennis. "I'm going to try and do other things to keep my mind off the game. I hope that when I come back to the circuit, I will feel really refreshed." A touch of Borg's off-court charm had rubbed off on the bumptious Big Mac. At a White House reception for U.S. Davis Cup and Wightman Cup teams, McEnroe seemed to bewitch First Lady **Nancy Reagan,** 60, with his new-found gentility. He was unable, however, to coax President **Reagan,** 70—who prefers his mornings on horseback —onto the court. "I used to play when I was younger," said the President, "but I don't any more because I can't get the horse on the court."

—By E. Graydon Carter

Rosalynn and Jimmy giving Begin a good ol' Plains, Ga., welcome

Nancy and McEnroe: together

Klein, Shields and Rubell all gussied up for the Studio 54 reopening

On the Record

Jane Pauley, 30, *Today Show* cohost, reflecting on the lack of rivalry between herself and her husband, Cartoonist **Garry Trudeau:** "Five million people watch me every morning. I believe only 4,999,999 people read *Doonesbury*."

Mark Hatfield, 59, Republican Senator from Oregon, predicting the course of interest rates for the rest of the year: "We'll see them down three to four points. But I should add that I predicted Thomas Dewey's election in 1948."

Sugar Knows How to Hit, Man

The Hit Man looks sweet too—until the 14th round

It was a classic confrontation between a man who had it all and a man who felt he had too little: Sugar Ray Leonard, 25, the polite, boyishly handsome star of soft-drink commercials who had burst onto the boxing scene at the 1976 Montreal Olympics and then vaulted with seeming ease to fame, $25 million in purses and a professional record of 30 wins (21 by knockouts) and one loss; and Thomas Hearns, 22, the "Hit Man," mean-looking and lean as a snake, who climbed from poverty and anonymity in his home town of Detroit to—well, surprisingly modest fortune and fame for a man of his accomplishments (32-0, with 30 knockouts).

It was also a classic match-up of dissimilar fighting styles: Leonard the boxer, elegant, fast, an artist who can devise dazzling combinations for every contingency; and Hearns the slugger, a tall (6 ft. 1 in., *vs.* Leonard's 5 ft. 10 in.) and haughty hitter who uses a preternatural 78-in. reach to keep trouble at bay until he can lower the boom. Each man had earned a welterweight (141 to 147 lbs.) championship belt: Leonard from the World Boxing Council (WBC), Hearns from the World Boxing Association (WBA). So when it was over, halfway through the 14th round at the special 25,000-seat arena constructed on the grounds of Caesars Palace casino in Las Vegas, the man who had it all had one thing more: Sugar Ray Leonard became the undisputed, unified welterweight champion of the world. He also took home a record $10 million (*vs* $5 million for Hearns). The fight grossed at least $36 million, making it the richest single sporting event in history.

For Leonard, victory was not easy. As the desert evening fell, the temperature subsided from the day's high of 96°, but in the ring, television lights raised it to an energy-sapping 97°. In this crucible, the fighters bobbed and weaved, Hearns stalking while Leonard danced sideways, trying to stay out of reach of Hearns' terrible right hand. As an amateur, Hearns was known as a boxer, not a slugger. He lowered his hand position after turning pro, and the extra leverage he acquired gave him a ferocious punch. Hearns used the advantage of his reach to flick jabs into Leonard's face, while Leonard, trying to get inside those long arms, was forced to bend until his torso was almost parallel to the canvas, then reach up to keep his punches above the belt. Looking like a man who was stooping down to stick his chewing gum under a table, Leonard took repeated short rights under his left eye. By the third round the eye had begun to swell.

Hearns won those early rounds, but nearly as much fighting took place after the bell as before. Hearns exorcised his anger by refusing to be separated, and Leonard obliged him in those brief exchanges. But if Hearns' potential knockout punch was a bomb ticking, so was Leonard's blinding hand speed and his capacity to exploit an opening. In the sixth round, Hearns dropped his right hand too far, and Leonard swooped into the opening with a savage left hook. Hearns was rocked back on his heels and, suddenly wobbly, retreated to the ropes. While Hearns reeled, Leonard swarmed over him, throwing dozens of punches. Hearns absorbed the blows to his body, but then, as soon as he dropped his arms to cover his midsection, Leonard showered combinations on his head. Through more than a full minute of remorseless attack, Hearns miraculously stayed on his feet.

Though Hearns took another terrible beating in the next round, he returned for the eighth not merely a survivor but a boxer. Now the roles were reversed. Hearns was dancing, trying to stay out of Leonard's reach, while the smaller man turned stalker. Slowly, however, Hearns regained his momentum and once again started to carry the judges' cards. At the same time, enmity turned to respect: when the bell rang, the two men no longer tossed late punches and insults but instead saluted each other's courage and skill, tapping gloves fraternally.

Leonard's left eye had become a serious problem for him by the start of the eleventh round. It was swollen almost shut, virtually blinding him on the side where Hearns' right hand waited. Hearns tattooed the eye, trying to close it completely in hopes of setting Leonard up. Sugar Ray, with his head cocked oddly to the side to improve his vision, was steadily losing points—and the time in which to redeem them—as his injury worsened.

In the 13th round, Leonard somehow managed to see an opening when Hearns again dropped his hands. After throwing a right lead, he pounded home another left hook that buckled Hearns. Leonard bore in now with furious uppercuts that set Hearns' head up as a target for withering combinations. Chased to the ropes, Hearns finally went down and out onto the apron of the ring, climbing back in to stand for the next assault. Once more

Third round: Hearns uncoils his 78-in. reach and lands a jab

Eleventh round: Leonard connects with a left against towering opponent

Photographs for TIME by Neil Leifer

he was knocked into the ropes, but the round ended as Referee Davey Pearl reached the eight count.

When the bell rang for the 14th round, Leonard came out of his corner like a shot, racing over to tag Hearns with a huge left hook before the Hit Man could step out of his path. After 1 min. 45 sec. of blows that Hearns was powerless to return, Referee Pearl stopped the fight. Hearns, who had been ahead on points with all three judges at that moment, looked on incredulously. "I thought I was in pretty much control," he protested later. Said Angelo Dundee, Leonard's manager: "Tommy Hearns was out of it. He didn't know where he was." Hearns' trainer and manager, Emanuel Steward, acknowledged that the referee had made the right decision.

Appearing together after the fight, Leonard and Hearns sounded downright affectionate. Said Leonard: "There was room for only one of us. We both stood our ground. In my book, we both are still champions. He's a superior athlete." Added Hearns: "I gave my best. I just made a couple of mistakes, and you can't afford to make mistakes against a fighter of Ray's caliber."

The champ, left eye almost shut, exults

Leonard's victory now confirms him as a remarkable champion. He is a strange mix for a fighter, a combination of peerless skills and yearnings to transcend the brutal arena in which he displays them. When he returned from Montreal in 1976, he vowed not to be a professional fighter, preferring to go to college. But the endorsements that he had hoped would support him after his ballyhooed triumph never materialized—white athletes end up on Wheaties boxes, he bitterly asserted, blacks do not. So he took to the ring. For years, he counted his money and waited for the day when he could quit, telling his advisers that each fight finished meant one less to be fought. He was truly horrified by the thought of injuring someone in the ring, and in one of his early knockouts almost leaped forward to catch his falling opponent.

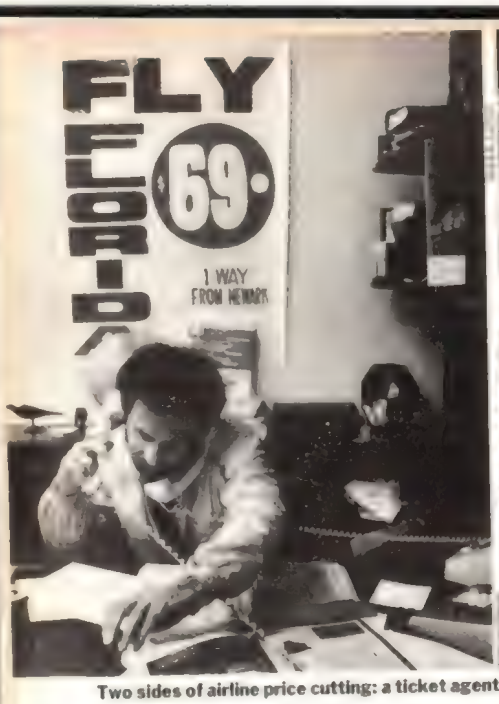
Yet Leonard is also an awesome finisher, a man who exploits without compunction an opponent's weakness, punches mercilessly when he sees an opportunity to put his foe down, and turns loose a remorseless killer instinct. That seriousness of purpose seemed to deepen last year after Leonard suffered the only loss of his professional career, to Roberto Duran. At their rematch five months later, Leonard was a study in cold fury.

Despite his seeming distaste for the bloodier aspects of his sport and his original reluctance to pursue it, Leonard has come to care deeply about his place in its history. Though Hearns last week said he is eager for a rematch, Leonard's ambitions are focused on seeking a further title. In addition to his welterweight crown, he recently won the WBA junior middleweight (148 to 154 lbs.) championship, and his advisers expect him to seek Marvin Hagler's middleweight (155 to 160 lbs.) title next. Talk of retirement is scarcely heard in the Leonard camp any more. Says Attorney Mike Trainer, who has handled Leonard's financial affairs since he turned pro: "He does look too cute, too sweet, too nice, but that's not the person in the ring. We can't even put him in with disc jockeys for publicity shadow boxes. You just couldn't trust Ray in the ring."

Manager Dundee likewise sees two men in his fighter. Says he: "The people who think he's a nice guy don't know how nice he is. The people who think he's a tough fighter don't know how tough a fighter he is. He's a nicer guy and a tougher fighter than people know." Perhaps even Leonard does not know. But at the post-fight press conference, he rather brusquely pushed aside the ice pack his wife was holding to the back of his neck —so that he could hug Ray Jr., his seven-year-old son. *—By B.J. Phillips/Las Vegas*

13th round: Hearns falls through the ropes and, below, rests during an eight count

14th round: Leonard pounds Hearns until fight is stopped



Two sides of airline price cutting: a ticket agent in New Jersey trying to cope with the increase of travelers; a crowd at the Miami airport

Economy & Business

Shootout in the Skies

As the air-control system rebuilds, Pan Am sets off an air-fare battle

A full-fledged price war was under way in U.S. skies last week, defying most rules of economics and common sense. It happened at a time when the walkout of nearly 12,000 air controllers was forcing airlines to curtail their schedules and pack passengers sardine-style into the planes that are still flying. Unlike many recent air-fare battles, the combatants were not the small upstart carriers or the thriving regional airlines. This time the big trunk lines that dominate air-traffic lanes were fighting it out. What is more, the price war was touched off by Pan American World Airways, which lost $217.6 million during the first half of the year and would seem to be in no position to start offering loss leaders.

The discounting came at the onset of the betwixt-and-between season for airlines, that relatively slow period between Labor Day and Thanksgiving, when summer tourists have gone back to work and winter ones have not yet begun to head for southern beaches or northern ski slopes. While more than two-thirds of airline coach passengers routinely fly on some sort of discount ticket, like Super Saver, the new cuts slashed prices even deeper and had no restrictions on travel.

Pan Am started the fare slashing two weeks ago, when it began offering reductions of from half to two-thirds off standard economy-class tickets on all domestic flights, including such popular runs as New York–Miami, New York–San Francisco and Los Angeles–Hawaii. The carrier cut the cost of a New York–Los Angeles ticket from $478 to $219, and billed it in huge newspaper ads as "the lowest unrestricted fare of any major airline." To lure passengers to its international flights, where it still makes most of its money, Pan Am offered travelers a coupon that would allow paying customers to take along one family member free to cities on Pan Am's worldwide system.

Not to be outdone, Eastern Air Lines bought big chunks of ad space to ballyhoo fares "that are so dramatically different, we're not even calling them fares any more. They're Eastern's Unfares." TWA quickly followed with cuts of its own. It started charging only $99 for its four daily New York–Miami runs, and ultimately dropped the price to $69. It also offered a free first-class ticket for domestic or international flights to passengers who had logged 50,000 miles with TWA.

One by one, other big carriers were drawn in. Starting Oct. 1, United plans to slash its transcontinental rates by as much as 44%, lowering a first-class ticket from New York to the West Coast from $1,340 to $750. Complained one United official: "People are charging fares that do not cover costs. But you have a choice of being competitive or giving up a large slice of the market."

In triggering the price cuts, Pan Am hoped to reverse almost a decade of near continuous losses that have rolled up $1 billion in debts for the carrier, forced it to sell its headquarters building in New York City and its Intercontinental Hotels subsidiary and finally, in August, to name a new boss, C. Edward Acker, 52. The successful chief of Air Florida, Acker replaced William T. Seawell as Pan Am's chairman.

Acker seemed to be getting the results he wanted with his bold inaugural scheme, as Pan Am's reservations lines were jammed with bargain-hunting travelers. Said he: "The phones are literally ringing off the wall." In the four days after the cuts were announced, reservations rose from 21,729 to 36,622, a 59% jump. "We had to do something dramatic," said Acker. "We wanted to make the world aware of us again."

Acker used such tactics as chairman of Air Florida to build that airline in just four years from a tiny carrier serving only cities in Florida to a Mighty Mite that flies to Washington, New York, London and Amsterdam. He turned Air

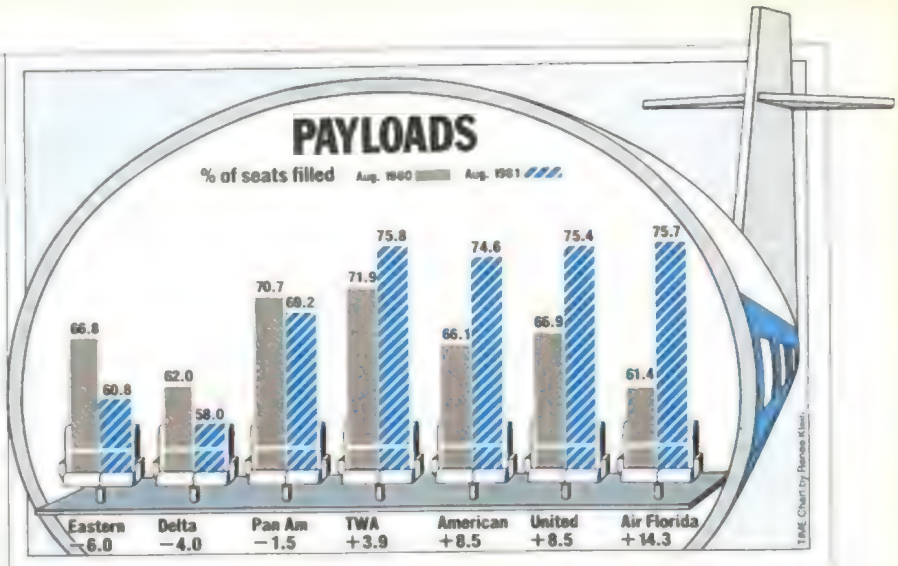
Florida into a paradigm of what the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978 was supposed to foster: increased competition, more flexible fares and easier entry for newcomers or smaller carriers into markets long dominated by the major airlines.

But industry executives were skeptical about Acker's ability to transfer his Air Florida tactics to Pan Am. Most doubted that Air Florida's chairman, Eli Timoner, who originally hired Acker to run the airline, would let his former colleague get away with it. Said Timoner: "No one beats Air Florida at its own game." True to that boast, the airline posted $69 New York–Florida fares, undercutting both Eastern and Pan Am.

Many airline men were angry last week over what Pan Am had wrought. Snapped Neil Effman, TWA's senior vice president for airline planning: "I am not sure who can win this war. We may all end up losers. This industry has been marching toward bankruptcy like a bunch of lemmings, and we at TWA are not going to follow them over the cliff. Managements who engage in this kind of tit for tat should be fired." TWA tried to keep its cuts selective. Although it reduced prices on some flights, it maintained the normal $129 fare from New York to Orlando.

Travelers will probably not enjoy the cut-rate prices for long. Fares should bounce back to normal levels in mid-November and early December, when the holiday and winter travel season gets started. Indeed, once the price war is over, airlines are likely to make up for the lost revenue by pushing prices to levels higher than before the battle began.

Compounding the confusion in the skies was the fact that the effects of the firing of the air controllers continue to work their way through the industry.



The labor trouble last week seemed no closer to being settled than seven weeks ago, when the controllers walked off the job. Only 37 of the 12,000 controllers fired by President Reagan (out of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization's total membership of about 15,000) have been rehired. And even they have to prove that they have not participated in the strike but have missed work because of illness or some similar reason. Nearly all the fired controllers are likely to appeal their dismissals, and this process could take several months.

The Federal Aviation Administration continues to echo Reagan's tough position that this is no longer a strike but a challenge to the law of the land. The agency maintains that the strike is officially over and that the workers will never be able to return to their jobs. PATCO gamely insists that its members will eventually be back in their towers. Meanwhile, the FAA is continuing its efforts to take away PATCO's rights to bargain for workers with the Government. The Federal Labor Relations Authority is expected to rule on the issue this week.

The union and its supporters are also still trying to persuade pilots and passengers that air travel is no longer safe. Warned Lawyer F. Lee Bailey, one of the founders of the air controllers' union and a pilot himself: "Air commerce is not a giant sandbox in which PATCO and the Government ought to be playing war games."

U.S. air lanes are now being monitored by some 10,000 controllers, about 7,200 fewer than before the strike: 5,700 of them are PATCO members who refused to walk out or nonunion controllers; 3,000 supervisors; 850 military draftees; and 450 new employees. The FAA has nearly 900

Supersonic Delivery

While many major passenger airlines are trying to return to profitability by shrinking their flight schedules, Federal Express Corp., the pioneer in overnight, coast-to-coast package delivery, aims to become bigger by flying farther faster—faster, in fact, than the speed of sound. The company is discussing with Air France and British Airways the possibility of leasing two or more of their Concorde supersonic transports. If agreement is reached, Federal Express hopes to begin flying small (under 73 lbs.) high-priority packages across the Atlantic. According to one plan now under study, the Federal Express Concordes would fly from Washington's Dulles airport to Shannon, Ireland, where subsonic jets would pick up bundles and whisk them to major European cities. A package leaving Washington at 9 p.m. could arrive in Paris by 9 a.m. the next morning, despite losing six hours in time-zone changes. On the trip back through those same time zones, a shipment could leave Paris at 9 p.m. and reach Washington by 10 p.m. that night.

Federal Express covets the Concorde

Mainly because it uses about four times as much fuel per passenger as a 747, the Concorde has been a money loser since its maiden flights in 1976. The British and French governments now subsidize it at a rate of roughly $90 million a year. The Socialist government of France's François Mitterrand is considering grounding the prestige plane. Officials of the two nations will open talks next month on the possibility of ending, or at least severely curtailing, Concorde passenger flights.

The plane's dismal record, however, does not deter Frederick Smith, 37, who in 1973 risked a personal inheritance of $3.5 million to launch Federal Express. Smith believes the Concorde's revenues could more than double if he converted it from passenger to package service. Says he optimistically: "It is a potentially lucrative venture." If Smith is right, the Concorde may eventually become more than just a winged white elephant.

students enrolled at its academy in Oklahoma City, which has gone on double shifts for the 17- to 20-week courses and is planning to increase its training capacity still further. Even at that, it will be perhaps three years before the controller system is fully restaffed. It is unlikely that the number of controllers will ever reach its prestrike levels. The FAA has identified 3,000 controller jobs as "redundant" and says that it will not fill them.

For the airlines, the PATCO walkout is not nearly as damaging as had been feared. Many carriers are using it as an excuse to lay off unneeded employees, sell fuel-inefficient aircraft, trim unprofitable routes, goad pilots into working more hours a month and otherwise shape up their companies. Says an official for Braniff, one of the biggest money losers among airlines: "The industry is doing house cleaning it should have done anyway."

Many of the big carriers are now doing well because their large aircraft, which were often flying half full before the controllers went on strike, are carrying more passengers, since the FAA is allowing fewer flights to take off. Their load factors —the number of paying passengers on each plane—were often up during the month of August as compared with a year ago *(see chart)*. Fewer flights carrying more passengers can mean profits for airlines that had been losing money because of the industry's excess capacity. Said Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis: "We feel we will have a more competitive airline industry than we had before the strike."

Wall Street's airline industry watchers agree. Says Analyst Julius Maldutis of Salomon Bros.: "We believe that the current schedule of fewer flights will become institutionalized. Load factors will rise sharply, fuel consumption will fall, and price wars and discount fares will become a fond and distant memory." Analysts estimate that airlines, which collectively earned only $75 million in 1980, could earn $400 million to $600 million this year, and perhaps as much as $1 billion next year.

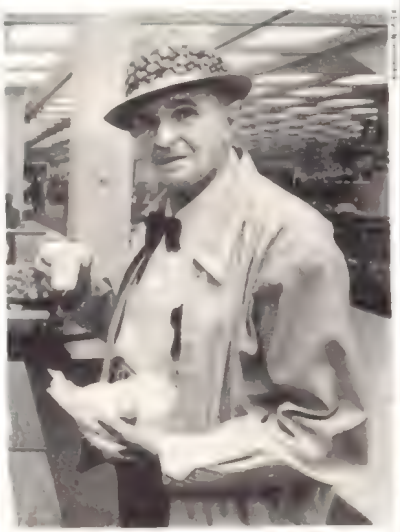
Industry observers, however, are worried about one unexpected fallout from the controller walkout: the "re-regulation" of the airlines. The Civil Aeronautics Board began dropping restrictions on airline routes and prices in 1977 as a way of lowering ticket prices for travelers and making the carriers more economically efficient. Now, to maintain safety in the skies the FAA is limiting the number of flights and the availability of seats. That move could channel business to some carriers by fiat and shut others out, making service and fares less competitive and defeating the goals of deregulation. The end result would then be less friendly skies for new competitors and higher ticket prices for passengers. —*By John DeMott. Reported by Gisela Bolte/Washington and Frederick Ungeheuer/New York*

Stuck in That 5.5% Rut

Why people keep $341 billion in low-interest savings accounts

Four days a week customers gather in the lobby of the Talman Home Federal Savings and Loan in the Gage Park section of Chicago. Occasionally someone makes a deposit or takes money out of an account. But most of the time, the customers just sit around chatting, drinking coffee and munching free doughnuts. Says Louis Brockman, 91, a regular at Talman: "This is one of the nicest places in the world. Everybody talks nice to you, from the sweepers to the president."

Talman employees have a reason to be nice. They would be in deep trouble without the fierce loyalty of such customers to their old-fashioned passbooks. In American banks and in savings and loan institutions, an incredible total of more than $341 billion is sitting in accounts that pay a maximum of 5.5% interest. Those funds could currently be earning about 18% in a money-market account, 14.9% in a six-month savings certificate or 13% in a tax-exempt municipal bond fund. If the 5,000 savings banks and S and Ls in the U.S. suddenly had to start paying comparable interest rates on passbook accounts, many of them would go broke. As it is, an estimated 85% of all S and Ls are losing money because the double-digit interest that they are paying on a variety of certificates of deposit—14% and more—is higher than the 9% or so that they earn on old mortgages.



Chicago Passbook Holder Louis Brockman

Depositors who remember the Depression.

Government regulation limits the interest that can be paid on passbook accounts to 5.25% at commercial banks or 5.5% at savings and loan associations or mutual savings banks. Those ceilings are supposed to be eliminated by 1985, but plans to get rid of them sooner have foundered because of opposition from banks and S and Ls. Raising the interest-rate limit by just 1% would cost the troubled savings institutions an estimated $1.8 billion annually. This week federal regulators will discuss a proposal to double the interest rates on passbook accounts to 10.5% for banks and 11% for S and Ls and mutual savings banks, but the measure is not expected to be adopted.

The amount of money in passbook accounts has dropped by more than $50 billion since the beginning of the year; yet the mystery is why the total has not declined even more sharply and why anyone still keeps a substantial amount of money in a savings account. An avalanche of publicity tells about better-paying ways to save, and the banks themselves aggressively promote six- and 30-month certificates that offer three times more interest than passbooks. The new All Savers Certificates that will start being sold next month will initially pay 12.61% tax-free for up to $1,000 in interest for an individual or $2,000 for a couple. Depending on the tax bracket of a depositor, that can be the taxable equivalent of as much as 25% interest.

One reason many people hold onto their passbook accounts is fear. Money-market funds, which invest in bank certificates, Government securities and commercial notes, are relatively new. Though the funds seem safe, people who put money in them do not enjoy the iron-clad Government insurance that stands behind every bank account of up to $100,000. Says Stanley J. Lukowski, president of Eastern Savings Bank in Lynn, Mass.: "The older generation, which remembers the Depression, is still the mutual savings bank's principal clientele." These people recall the early 1930s—when more than 9,000 financial institutions failed in just four years—and want guaranteed safety for their money.

Other passbook holders place particular value on the ability to get at money quickly and conveniently. If savings certificates are cashed in early, depositors lose three months' interest. Most money-market checks must be for at least $500. Says Frances Ghioni of Cambridge, Mass.: "I like the friendliness of the tellers, and I can get my money when I need it."

For people living precariously from paycheck to paycheck, a passbook account may be the only way to save. Money-market funds normally require a minimum deposit of $1,000 or more, and savers usually need at least $3,000 to buy a certificate of deposit. Thus the small saver will probably have to be satisfied, for a while longer at least, with 5.5% interest, plus maybe free coffee and doughnuts. ■

INTRODUCING A PENSION THAT CAN GET BETTER AS INFLATION GETS WORSE.

At a time when inflation is squeezing the value from most small-business pensions, here's one that can fight back:

The new PensionMaster, from Ætna Life & Casualty.

With PensionMaster, those inflationary forces that are grinding others down can actually mean lower pension costs, greater benefits, or both.

You see, when the higher interest rates associated with inflation boosts Ætna's income, we can afford to pass this on as savings to our PensionMaster holders.

And even if inflation should unexpectedly plummet, we guarantee that your premiums will never rise beyond the ceiling written into your PensionMaster policy.

We suggest you contact your Ætna Agent or Edward N. Cheek, CLU, CEBS, National Director, Pension/Profit Sharing Sales, Life Division, and ask about PensionMaster. The ingenious new pension that outwits the pinch.

Ætna
LIFE & CASUALTY

Ætna Life Insurance and Annuity Company, 151 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, CT 06156

France's Private Banks Go Public

Mitterrand's Socialist government moves to nationalize them

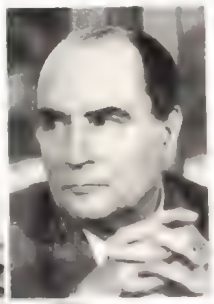
"The government has no idea of where it is headed. The entire program is being undertaken regardless of the economic consequences." So said Yves Laulan, chief economist for France's big Société Générale bank, last week, and few of his colleagues were prepared to disagree with him. Four months after the Socialist Party's overwhelming election victories in the spring, President François Mitterrand is determinedly pressing ahead with plans to nationalize France's 36 largest privately owned banks and investment houses. Mitterrand's coalition Cabinet, which includes four Communists, is expected to announce final details of the state takeover this week. The action will make France the only non-Communist country in the world to have credit almost totally under government control. Less than 7% of the nation's bank deposits will now be in privately owned institutions.

France's four major banking houses* together control upwards of 60% of all deposits in the country, and have been government owned since Charles de Gaulle nationalized them in 1945. But the three dozen privately owned banks that are being taken over, many of them in smaller cities outside the Paris region, have flourished in recent years.

In his presidential campaign, Mitterrand promised to put them under state control. More recently his aides have been saying that state control of finance is vital to ensure that their Socialist economic program is fully implemented. Said Jean Le Garrec, Mitterrand's Minister for Nationalizations, last week: "The bank nationalizations will guarantee the enforcing of the will of the state, not through some economic magic, but through assured mastery of banking and industry. This way we can be certain that the state's wish to restimulate the economy is carried out."

In fact, the takeovers will probably push France into deeper trouble. The country's economy is already suffering from anemic growth, 7.7% unemployment and sagging investment. Nationalizing the banks—and 32 large industrial enterprises, including the Dassault airplane manufacturing company and the Saint-Gobain-Pont-à-Mousson fiber-glass maker—will almost certainly deepen the existing slump by making businessmen more wary of investing their money. Says J. Paul Horne, European economic analyst for the Smith Barney, Harris Upham & Co. investment firm: "The French private banking sector is all but gone. New private investment in France has been virtually frozen since the election."

Ever since Mitterrand's victory, private capital has been flowing across the border into Swiss banks. That in turn threatens further bursts of inflation in an economy that is already racked by price rises of more than 13%. Not only will the government wind up having to print more money, but increasingly it will have to assume the task of deciding where and how to invest those funds. Warns Economist Laulan caustically: "We have already had experiences of government investment decisions like the Concorde that turn out to be stupid. Look for more of these."



One of 36 financial institutions targeted for takeover by President Mitterrand, inset

The power over credit and more political influence is flowing into the hands of the state.

Other Frenchmen argue that by controlling credit itself, the state will take over perhaps the most important function in a free economy. Says Jean Falala, a Gaullist member of Parliament from the Marne region: "The nationalization of credit puts the economy in the hands of the state. We are seeing part of our liberty disappear."

Ironically, shareholders of the banks will probably not suffer much financially from nationalization. Though precise details of compensation will not be announced until this week, the conservative morning newspaper *Le Figaro* last week published the general outline for paying off bank investors. Using a formula based on average bank share prices from 1978 through 1980, the state will give shareholders long-term government bonds that pay a competitive interest rate in exchange for their expropriated stock. Beginning in 1983, the state will start redeeming the bonds by lottery, thereby giving shareholders the actual cash values of their nationalized holdings.

Though bankers have found little to gripe about in the takeover terms, the government's brusque and indifferent way of launching the program in the first place has angered many of them. Officials at one medium-sized firm complain that government examiners cavalierly breezed through their company's financial records, then rudely declined even to meet with the bank's president to tell him that his bank was being taken over. Growled one financier: "Bankers talking to members of this government is like someone from Afghanistan talking to someone from Korea. Government officials simply don't understand. They don't speak economics."

Instead of trying to mount a coordinated attempt to block the takeover drive, France's bankers spent much of the summer pleading that their own banks should not be nationalized. One bank argued that its international operations were so large that the company was not really "French" at all. The argument carried little weight with Finance Minister Jacques Delors, and the bank is being taken over. Another one tried, equally futilely, to get top officials of the U.S. Treasury to threaten France with retaliation if the takeover went through. The Treasury refused.

With the nationalization program under way, a flight of capitalists may be joining the flight of capital that is already taking place. Big multinational executive search firms like Eastman & Beaudine of Chicago and Houdinière & Morgan International of Paris have been polling top French bankers to see if they might be interested in joining international banks elsewhere in Europe or in the U.S. —*By Christopher Byron. Reported by William Blaylock/Paris*

*Société Générale, Crédit Lyonnais, the Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie and Le Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris, which merged in 1966 with the Banque Nationale de Paris.

The
Hudson's Bay Coat
from Marlboro.
Back in the 1880's, cowboys riding the trail wore "blanket coats" to take the sting out of Northern winters. The coats, made from wool blankets sold at Hudson's Bay trading posts, stood up to raw weather on the open range.
This Marlboro coat is made from a four-point Hudson's Bay blanket. It's 100% wool and quilt-lined for extra warmth. It has a sheepskin shearling collar and buttons of carved antler bone.
$185.00 plus two end labels from any pack or box of Marlboro.
Come to where the flavor is.
Come to Marlboro Country.
Marlboro
LIGHTS
Marlboro
Marlboro
100's
Mail to:
Marlboro Hudson's Bay Coat
P. O. Box 7000, Westbury, N.Y. 11592
Please send me ( ) Marlboro Hudson's Bay Coat(s) at $185.00 each. Enclosed are two end labels from any pack or box of Marlboro and a check or money order (no cash please) made out to Marlboro Hudson's Bay Coat
Mark size(s): 36 38 40 42 44 46
Name
Address
City State Zip
Offer available only to persons over 21 years of age. Send check or money order only payable to Marlboro Hudson's Bay Coat. Offer good in U.S.A. only except where prohibited, licensed or taxed by law. Offer good until March 31, 1982 or while supply lasts. Please allow 8 to 10 weeks for delivery.
Clip and save. Our aim is to make sure you're completely satisfied with your order—and that you get it on time. But sometimes things go wrong. If they do, be sure to let us know. Write: Marlboro Hudson's Bay Coat, 100 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017
Lights: 11 mg "tar," 0.8 mg nicotine—
Kings & 100's: 16 mg "tar," 1.1 mg nicotine av.
per cigarette, FTC Report Mar.'81.
Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health

Another increase in interest rates for U.S. Savings Bonds.

Growing Bigger... Faster.

That's the good news about U.S. Savings Bonds. The Series EE Bonds you buy today grow bigger, with an increased interest rate of 9%. And they do it faster, with a shortened maturity period of only 8 years. Interim rates have been improved, too. Bonds earn 6% after 1 year and 8½% if held 5 years.

These changes make Bonds much more desirable. And with the Payroll Savings Plan, it's easier to save more, in a shorter time.

In fact, almost all outstanding Savings Bonds will benefit from a 1% increase to their next maturity.

So take another look at Bonds. They're still easy to buy through the Payroll Savings Plan; they're safe, guaranteed. Take a look at the tax benefits. The new interest rates. The shortened maturity. And you'll see Bonds do make sense.

For you, and for your country.

UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS

Take stock in America.

Ad

Only because we make a $75 scotch
can we make so exceptional a $9 scotch
About $75 (when available)
About $9
Aged 30 Years
Ballantine's
VERY OLD BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY
30 YEARS OLD
"21" Brands.
EST'D 1827
86 PROOF
FINEST BLENDED SCOTCH WHISKY
BOTTLED IN SCOTLAND
100% SCOTCH WHISKIES
Ballantine & Son, Limited
Dumbarton, Scotland
Ballantine's in the famous square bottle inherits its great taste, and its blend of 44 great whiskies, from our 30-year-old Ballantine's— the oldest, most expensive scotch in the world.
Ballantine's. Makers of the oldest and most expensive scotch in the world.
© "21" Blended Scotch Whisky, bottled in Scotland. 86 proof. Imported by "21" Brands, Inc., N.Y.C.

Flowers can tell a life and death story.

It's a story of the earth. How Nature shows signs of trouble. By sending messages from the land. A rash of colors. A flash of flowers. Delightful looking, but often a signal that a range is dying. Or lacking nutrients. Or that erosion is setting in. So to help read the land, Phillips Petroleum put botanists and artists to work. They created a book that explains the way Nature signals us through her plants. The book is more than just a beautiful reference work. It's a valuable tool for conservationists and ranchers. Helping them read Nature like an open book.

PHILLIPS 66

plant: Stiff Goldenrod (Solidago rigida)

Selling Beauty

Christie Brinkley pitches beer

Everybody knows what goes into a beer commercial, right? Lots of backslapping by beefy athletes, such as baseball's Mickey Mantle and boxing's Joe Frazier. But now there is something new and beautiful in the ads. For the first time, a woman is starring in a major beer commercial.

The new ads for Anheuser-Busch's Natural Light feature Cover Girl Christie Brinkley, 27, who fills a red-and-white-striped bathing suit with come-hither bust, hips and thighs. "You don't have to be some macho jock to like Natural Light," says Brinkley in one television commercial.

The switch from brawny to beautiful is Natural Light's latest attempt to challenge bestselling Miller Lite Beer and runner-up Michelob Light. Natural Light is only No. 3 in the light-beer market, which accounts for close to $3 billion, or about 13% of U.S. beer sales. Miller Lite beer ads have long made heavy use of male athletes in an attempt to drive home the message that Lite, though low calorie, is a real beer-drinker's beer, not the namby-pamby brew of weaklings.

Anheuser-Busch says the Brinkley ads are partly a play for the female market. Explains Senior Product Manager Robert Merz: "We decided to showcase a woman in this new commercial because 50% of the light-beer drinkers are women." But G. Robert Holmén, who produces the ads for competing Miller Lite, insists that Natural Light is only using Madison Avenue's oldest pitch of all. Sniffs he: "This is the last gasp for Natural Light. They are relying on sex to sell the product." Shameful. ■

The model strikes a pose with product in hand

Dividends

War of the Chocolate Chips

The Chipwich is a sandwich made by placing vanilla or chocolate ice cream between two large chocolate-chip cookies, then covering the edges of the ice cream with chocolate chips. Priced at $1 and sold from street pushcarts, the Chipwich scored in the munchie market after its introduction in New York City last spring.

Initially geared to produce 20,000 sandwiches daily, the Lodi, N.J., Chipwich factory has scheduled an increase in output to 200,000 on Oct. 1, and the company is preparing supermarket and cart distribution in Sunbelt states. "It's been one of those American dreams," says Chipwich's creator Richard LaMotta, 39.

But LaMotta's dream is now melting a bit. This summer Good Humor began to sell a Chipwich lookalike, the Chocolate Chip Cookie Ice Cream Sandwich. Chipwich has filed a $13 million lawsuit against Good Humor in New York Federal District Court, charging unfair competition and trademark infringement. LaMotta claims Good Humor also took unfair advantage of confidential information gleaned last winter when Chipwich explored with Good Humor the possibility that the company would distribute Chipwich in the Northeast.

Good Humor concedes that its sandwich was developed to compete with Chipwich but denies LaMotta's other charges. Says Good Humor Attorney John Young: "It's our product, and we consider it a superior product. Their main complaint would seem to be that they don't want competition."

A $4 Billion Bit of Pique

When a bank fouls up, an unhappy customer may yank his money and deposit it across the street. Oil-rich Kuwait has done the same thing, only it took $4 billion with it. New York's Citibank had managed investment funds for Kuwait since 1974, putting nearly $4 billion into stocks of about 350 U.S. companies, including A T & T, Atlantic Richfield and Phillips Petroleum.

Citibank did not trade the portfolio of stocks heavily on a day-to-day basis, which upset Sheik Salem Abdullah Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah, Kuwait's director of U.S. investments. "If you do not do it our way," he wrote to the bank in December, "we'll transfer the funds. There are lots of good banks who want a chance to help us." The Kuwaiti government became more disturbed with Citibank when some confidential memos and the lists of its holdings were leaked to Financial Writer Dan Dorfman. In retaliation, Kuwait last month transferred the $4 billion stock portfolio, which earns a $4 million-a-year management fee, from Citibank to Morgan Stanley Asset Management.

Some Tarnished Pennies

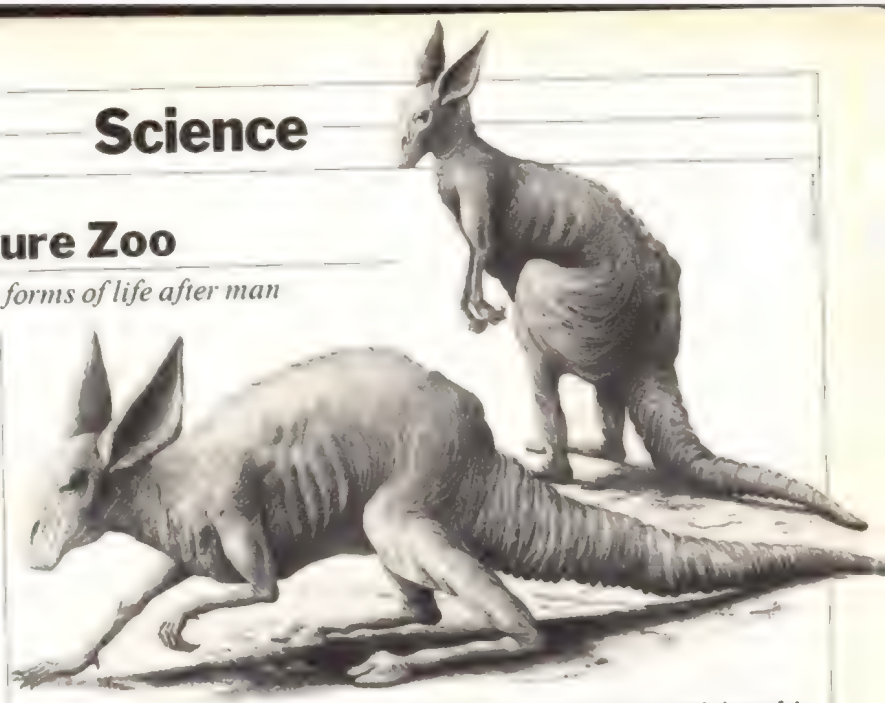
No investment was hotter in 1980 than the so-called penny stocks—speculative shares in new companies priced at $1 or less and traded primarily over the counter in places such as Denver or Salt Lake City. Suddenly, though, the pennies have tarnished. High-interest rates now make other investments more attractive, and many investors have grown suspicious about the low-priced stocks.

Faced with heavy losses on those issues, three brokerage houses specializing in underwriting or trading penny stocks have been forced to close their doors within the past five weeks. Jerome Wenger, publisher of *Penny Stock Newsletter*, predicts that perhaps six more brokers will soon go out of business.

Moreover, scandal has tainted the bustling Denver penny market. Civil or criminal fraud charges have been filed against three brokerage houses and executives in two other firms. In one case, the Securities and Exchange Commission and a grand jury have charged brokers at Investment Bankers Inc. with illegally manipulating the stock of Denver's Chipola Oil Corp. They allegedly gained control of a majority of the publicly issued Chipola shares and artificially inflated the price, from 19¢ to $1.

The Once and Future Zoo

Rabbucks, pamthrets and other forms of life after man



A pair of 10-ft.-long desert leapers, loose skinned after three months' living off their own fat

Who will inherit the earth? Creatures amusing or abhorrent, but each perfectly logical.

Should man follow the dodo and the passenger pigeon into extinction, who will inherit the earth? Faced with that gloomy question, most futurists and even some zoologists tend toward the whimsical: late-late-show killer ants, say, or playful monsters that put one in mind of Lewis Carroll's frumious Bandersnatch.

Not so British Science Writer Dougal Dixon. A student of both geology and paleontology, Dixon has taken a careful look at the question and come up with more serious predictions, based on genetics and the course of evolution to date. The creatures that populate Dixon's futurist world in *After Man: A Zoology of the Future* (St. Martin's Press; $14.95) are variously amusing or appalling. But they are perfectly logical.

Dixon assumes the continents will continue to drift, eventually creating a world that will be far different from today's. Africa, Eurasia, Australia and North America will come together to form a giant continent with new climates and ecosystems; South America will become a huge island. Once man has succeeded in overpopulating the planet and exhausting its resources, as he now seems bent on doing, he will have assured not only his own extinction but that of the species that depend upon him for existence: domestic cattle, for example. Man's departure, concludes Dixon, will allow "evolution to get back to work filling in the gaps."

As each new ecological niche is opened by the fall of an old species or the rise of a new environment, creatures will fill it by trial and error. Some will survive by preying on others. Some will protect themselves by mimicking other species (like today's Viceroy butterfly, which birds avoid because it looks just like the foul-tasting Monarch). Some will simply reproduce faster than their competitors.

Take the creature that Dixon calls the rabbuck, for instance. Dixon figures that man, before disappearing, will destroy most of the world's woodlands in his search for fuel and farm land and will drive into extinction the deer and other browsing ungulates that now inhabit forests. But the superprolific rabbit will exploit this newly opened niche by evolving into a deer-size species that combines the lagomorph's gnawing teeth with the long, hoofed legs of the ungulates to form a new genus, *Ungulagus*. These super-rabbits will not have to worry about the wolves, foxes and feline carnivores that attack deer today; such predators will vanish with their present prey. But they may have to keep a watchful eye out for falanx, *Amphimorphodus cynomorphus:* dog-size predators likely to evolve as today's rats sense a new opportunity and literally grow into it.

As always in the past, so in the future: each ecosystem will produce its own specialized creatures. Relocated deserts will give rise to new animals capable of enduring for months without water, like the cameloid yet kangaroo-like desert leaper, able to store fat and other nutrients in its tail. Dixon proposes new islands settled by bats, which will evolve into forms specially adapted to exploit each of the islands' food sources. One group could well develop into an aquatic species capable of using its winged forelimbs for swimming. Another could, in the absence of competition, turn into the carnivorous night stalker, a flightless, sightless bat, with ears as sensitive as a NORAD radar antenna, that carries its clawlike hind legs over its shoulders as it roams around on its forelegs, screeching, in search of prey.

Ranging from the carefree chirit, a long-bodied squirrel that moves by hunching its body inchworm-style, to the flooer, whose large pinkish ears mimic a flower to attract edible bees, Dixon's future zoo may suggest an imagination gone wild. But he is talking about a period 50 million years from now. And nature, the great experimenter, has already created creatures just as outrageous. —*By Peter Stoler*

Predatory falanx attack deer-size rabbuck

A Bygone Shrew

Last week, as if to reinforce Dougal Dixon's point, a team led by Harvard Paleontologist Farish Jenkins Jr. announced a rare discovery from northeastern Arizona: a fossil jaw from a tiny, shrewlike, insect-eating mammal that lived during the early Jurassic period, 180 million years ago. At that time the first small mammals evolved from a kind of mammalian reptile. In evolutionary terms, these creatures bided their time, for 115 million years, until the disappearance of dinosaurs and other reptiles allowed them to evolve thousands of different shapes and sizes. Significantly, the Arizona find adds a third major branch of mammals to the two that had previously been identified: one resulted in the egg-laying platypus and the spiny anteater of today; the other led to all modern animals that produce live young. The new branch may have been a zoological dead end, but its discovery illustrates the extraordinary precariousness and complexity of the evolutionary process.

Medicine

"Cancer Genes"

They can turn cells malignant

A crucial yet mysterious step in the development of cancer appears to be alterations, possibly by chemicals, to the DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) carried in the thousands of genes in the body's cells. Scientists have theorized that though many genes may be affected, relatively few, dubbed "cancer genes," have the power to transform a cell from a healthy to a cancerous state. Evidence to support this theory came to light last week with word that researchers, using new genetic-engineering techniques, have isolated several genes from human tumor cells and found that at least two were capable of making normal cells malignant

The work, reported by the Long Island, N.Y., newspaper *Newsday*, has not yet appeared in a scientific journal. At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a team headed by Molecular Biologist Robert Weinberg isolated a gene from a bladder tumor, and parts of genes from leukemia and colon tumors. Molecular Biologist Michael Wigler, working with a team at the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory on Long Island, isolated a second bladder-tumor gene and identified a gene common to cancerous lung and colon cells. A group led by Molecular Biologist Geoffrey Cooper of Harvard's Sidney Farber Cancer Institute isolated a chicken leukemia gene. The researchers discovered that both bladder genes, when inserted into normal mouse cells being grown in laboratory dishes, transform some of the cells. It is not yet known if the other genes that have been isolated can do the same.

The findings may help scientists understand the process by which normal cells are converted into cancerous ones Says Weinberg: "Isolation should make it possible to analyze genes down to the details of their structure and to see exactly what kind of mutation or alteration in the DNA induced the normal cell to behave differently." Scientists still do not know whether more than one gene in a cell must be altered for the cell to become malignant. Nor do they know which proteins are made at the genes' commands. Proteins regulate the activities of the cell. When instructions for their production go awry, so do the cell's workings. Once the cancer genes' proteins are identified, says Weinberg, "we can begin to ask how their presence in a cell is able to perturb or subvert normal cellular metabolism."

Eventually, doctors may be able to fashion a screening test for cancer based on the concentration of these proteins in patients' blood. Such an assay might also help monitor therapy. "Isolating these genes," says Weinberg, "could make dozens of things possible." ■

If you'd like a booklet explaining how we smooth out Jack Daniel's with charcoal, just drop us a line.

ASK THE ROGERS TWINS how Jack Daniel's Whiskey gains smoothness, and the reply will be identical.

Either Ray or Clay, who guide visitors here, will take you to a room where just-made whiskey is seeped through vats of tightly packed charcoal. And they'll point out how we've insisted on this whiskey-smoothing method since 1866. Of course, you may have trouble telling Ray from Clay. But if you compare Jack Daniel's to any other whiskey, you'll spot the difference in just a sip.

CHARCOAL MELLOWED DROP BY DROP

Tennessee Whiskey • 90 Proof • Distilled and Bottled by Jack Daniel Distillery
Lem Motlow, Prop., Inc., Route 1, Lynchburg (Pop. 361), Tennessee 37352

Placed in the National Register of Historic Places by the United States Government

Texaco and The Metropolitan Opera present the first Met telecast of the season. Verdi's "La Traviata".

With English subtitles.
James Levine conducts.
Wednesday, September 30, 8:00 PM (EDT), on PBS.
(Simulcast on Stereo FM in many cities.)

A pre-taped telecast of a live performance with: Ileana Cotrubas as Violetta; Placido Domingo as Alfredo; and Cornell MacNeil as Germont.

Watch for future "Live From The Met" telecasts this season.

TEXACO

Your ticket to The Met for over forty years.

Funding for "Live From The Met" is made possible by a major grant from Texaco Inc. with additional grants from the National Endowment for the Arts and the Charles E. Culpeper Foundation.

A Lot Lower Than the Angels

PSYCHOANALYSIS: THE IMPOSSIBLE PROFESSION
by Janet Malcolm; Knopf; 174 pages; $9.95

When Sigmund Freud, his apostles and apostates jumped down the rabbit hole of the unconscious, they found a world that had as much to do with myth, religion and art as it did with science. Psychoanalysis is hardly an objective discipline. Physical scientists must cope with the fact that even inert nature can be altered by the act of observation. The assumption that one active mind can know another is staggering in its implications—like playing three-dimensional chess in a maze of mirrors.

Nevertheless, the men and women who laid the foundations of "the talking cure," as an early analysand called it, had to think of themselves as neutral observers of clinical evidence. Software like the id, the ego and the Oedipus complex became hardware; schools of thought grew into academies of dogma; schisms appeared; colleagues turned into cultists; and Wilhelm Reich, confusing metaphor with reality, saw space invaders.

For these reasons alone, one would have to agree with Janet Malcolm, a staff writer for *The New Yorker*, that psychoanalysis is "the impossible profession." Her artful, illuminating survey of the field suggests an even stronger reason. After decades of popularizations and spin-offs, the talking cure appears to have trivialized the majesty of the unconscious. People once said that they were "in" psychoanalysis, meaning that they were committed to a long immersion. In a sense, they were writing their autobiographies. Now, people "go for" psychotherapy as they would go for a haircut, a walk in the park or Chinese food. The mind and soul are felt to be more casually accessible than they once were. In addition, the acquisition of self-awareness should not be too laborious, time-consuming or unpleasant.

It is a hard time for purists, especially traditional Freudians who believe that the psychoanalyst should keep a chilly distance. Free association and the transfer of buried memories to the doctor-patient relationship, they believe, work better in an uncongenial atmosphere. This is not a popular notion especially at a time when people fear being stuffy if they do not establish an immediate first-name relationship with their muggers. Says Aaron Green, the pseudonymous New York analyst whose good-natured fatalism forms the tough core of Malcolm's book: "No one likes to hurt people—to cause them pain, to stand silently by as they suffer . . . That's where the real wear and tear of analysis lies—in this chronic struggle to keep oneself from doing the things that decent people naturally and spontaneously do."

Janet Malcolm: three-dimension chess in a mirror maze

Ideologically and temperamentally, Green is a pessimist who echoes Freud's fundamentally tragic view: humankind's animal instincts limit the realization of its ideals. Such a bleak belief is, of course, a wellspring of humor. Freud did not promise a rose garden, only that the aim of treatment was "transforming your hysterical misery into common unhappiness." Green informs and amuses Malcolm with seriocomic tales about the infantile needs of himself and other psychoanalysts: their sharp clothes, boring talk of summer real estate, erotic entanglements with patients and strivings for position and prestige. Green's own analysis, he confesses, revealed a strong ambition to be a beautiful woman.

In a field that has frequently equated money with excrement, the subject of fees is provocative. Malcolm notes that Freud established the concept of paying by the hour and holding the patient financially responsible for missed sessions. "Nothing," he wrote, "brings home to one so strongly the significance of the psychogenic factor in the daily life of men, the frequency of malingering, and the nonexistence of chance as a few years' practice of psychoanalysis on the strict principle of leasing by the hour." Green tells of one patient so obsessed with his bill that the doctor did not get paid for eight months.

What drives a psychoanalyst? Says Green, citing cowardice and selfishness: "It's a situation of very comfortable abstinence. A situation of *not* getting involved with the other person, of *not* taking responsibility for the other person's behavior, but only for one's own."

Self-deprecation is often a pre-emptive strike to steal a detractor's thunder. At times, the reader half hopes that Janet Malcolm will tell Green that he is too hard on himself, that he really is an intelligent, sympathetic man who is defending the faith in an age of pill popping and package deals. But she maintains an orthodox silence with rewarding results. Eventually Green's faults and peeves make his good qualities even more believable. Technically, he also serves as a vital navigational point in the author's explorations. She discusses a number of analytic approaches and comes to the sensible conclusion that the clinical skills needed to get a patient to talk and the doctor to listen are as important as variations on theory. In the final analysis, talking and listening began the revolution that—like heliocentricism and evolution—placed man a lot lower than the angels.

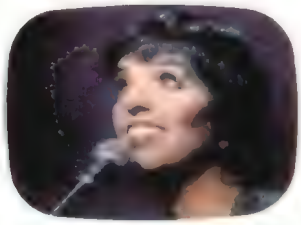
—By R.Z. Sheppard

Excerpt

"If you try to understand the patient in the overwhelming fullness of his individuality and idiosyncrasy, you will not have the easy time of it . . . You will feel discouraged, guilt-ridden, depressed, lost, confused, and deluged by the quantity of data and by its ambiguity and complexity. You will suffer back pain, indigestion, headache, fatigue . . . because of the guilt you constantly feel about not understanding the data. And this isn't even to speak of the other kind of guilt that analysts feel over the pain and frustration they regularly inflict on the people they analyze. Analysts keep having to pick away at the scab that the patient tries to form between himself and the analyst to cover over his wound. That's what the patient keeps trying to do—it's what's called resistance . . . The analyst keeps picking away at the scab. He keeps the surface raw, so that the wound will heal properly."

PIONEER LASERDISC. FIRST THE BEST PICTURE.

An actual freeze frame on tape



An actual freeze frame on disc

The first time you see Pioneer LaserDisc™ in action, you'll know it's different.

It actually puts a picture on your TV with 40% more video resolution than home video tape. (Viewed side by side with tape, the difference is staggering.)

The first time you hear Pioneer LaserDisc, you'll have a tough time believing your ears as well. Instead of hearing mono with that picture, you'll hear honest-to-goodness stereo.

This combination of sight and sound creates a sensation you've simply never experienced at home before.

A reality of performance, a sense of "being there" that makes watching a movie or concert at home finally worth staying home for.

Attached to your stereo, it's more than a great picture, it's great sound

Having created all this picture and sound fidelity, it seemed only logical to offer pictures and sounds worth seeing and hearing. Software that would live up to the hardware. And that's precisely what we've done.

Ordinary People[1]

The Muppet Movie[2]

King Kong[2]

Urban Cowboy[1]

The Elephant Man[1]

The Rose[2]

Popeye[1]

The French Connection[1]

The China Syndrome[2]

Alien[2]

Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid[3]

Tess[1]

1–Paramount Home Video 2–Magnetic Video 3–Columbia Pictures Home Entertainment
4–Pioneer Artists 5–1984 Warner Video Inc. All rights reserved.

Academy Award winning movies like Ordinary People, The Godfather, Tess, Coal Miner's Daughter.

Comedies like Airplane, Animal House, Cheech and Chong.

When you have the ability to play back in stereo, it makes sense that you offer music. So there are movie musicals like Grease, Saturday Night Fever, All That Jazz. There are Broadway shows like "Pippin." And there are concerts with Paul Simon, Liza Minnelli, Neil Sedaka, even the Opera.

The sight and sound experience of Pioneer LaserDisc is so remarkable, it seemed to demand a larger scale. Which led us to introduce the Pioneer 50" Projection TV.

The experience is more like being at the movies than like being at home. In fact, for the first time seeing a concert at home offers a

THEN THE BEST PICTURES.

picture that's every bit as large as the sound. As for the picture quality, well, just look at the picture of Liza below. Hard to believe, it's an actual picture taken right off the screen.

But with Pioneer LaserDisc you don't just sit back and watch. For example, with the "How to Watch Pro Football" disc, you can go backwards, forwards, in fast motion, slow motion, stop motion, study it one frame at a time.

There are discs that teach you golf, tennis, cooking, step-by-step. Then there's The First National Kidisc. For the first time, children learn at their own rate. Unlike television, the disc responds to them. Your kids will love it so much they won't even know they're learning.

The only way to believe all this new technology is to see it. And we've arranged it. Just call us at **800-621-5199**,* for the store nearest you. *(In Illinois, 800-972-5855.)

PIONEER®
We bring it back alive.

Liza in Concert®

The Pioneer 50" Projection TV

The Pioneer LaserDisc Player

Optional Remote Control

A NEW AMERICAN LEGEND
The grand, sweeping epic of a proud, loving family.
Driven from their Irish homeland.
Struggling to fullfil their dream.
Of a man and a woman. Enemies by birth.
Lovers by chance.
Battling the forces which divide them.
Pursuing their passionate destiny
in a lusty young land!
The Manions of America
A WORLD PREMIERE
Starring
PIERCE BROSNAN KATE MULGREW
STEVE FORREST
BARBARA PARKINS
LINDA PURL
ANTHONY QUAYLE
DAVID SOUL
ABC SPECIAL PRESENTATION
Three Consecutive Nights. Starting Wednesday. Sept. 30
9:00 PM, 8:00 PM Central
ABC TELEVISION NETWORK

New Vibes

EASY TRAVEL TO OTHER PLANETS
by Ted Mooney
Farrar, Straus & Giroux
278 pages; $11.95

Melissa is a marine biologist who has become sexually involved with a dolphin named Peter. Jeffrey, Melissa's human lover, has given up a promising career as an architect to teach fifth-graders in the New York City public school system; he thinks of his students as "a kind of early warning system for what's next in the world." Meanwhile, their friend Nicole feels glum over the prospect of another abortion, her sixth. She would like to have the baby and marry Diego, her Cuban lover, but doing so would cause her father to revoke the TWA pass that she uses to jet wherever her spirit moves her. Kirk, Jeffrey's twin brother, is taking parachute lessons in preparation for a photojournalistic assignment in Antarctica. The world, apparently, is ready to go to war over the natural resources under the South Pole.

If this does not sound like a recipe for trendy froth, then nothing can. But Author Ted Mooney adds some marijuana and gin, stirs and comes up with a substantial and moving first novel. For one thing, circumstantial whimsey is balanced against the pathos of characters trying to take their increasingly weird lives seriously. The air around them is "full of microwaves and jets." An apartment-house elevator contains a TV set; during a short ride up, the operator switches dials and treats his passengers to snippets of six old movies. Strange rituals proliferate; at airports, Mooney's people watch "metal detectors detect belt buckles and sets of keys on the persons of those who wished to fly somewhere." Things, Melissa decides, "were getting fast and odd."

Everyone struggles with the barrage of data that is modern life. Memory no longer seems able to file everything that the senses receive: "Sometimes the things Nikki saw on TV scared her, but a moment later she would forget about them." A new disease has begun to spread: Information Sickness, a kind of systems-overload characterized by "bleeding from the nose and ears, vomiting, deliriously disconnected speech, apparent disorientation, and the desire to touch everything." What with all the new vibes zinging through the air and the characters' craniums, a totally unprecedented emotion has also been reported. One student describes it: "It's like . . . I don't know, it's like being in a big crowd of people without the people. And you're all traveling somewhere at this incredible speed. But without the speed."

Although no one spells it out, this "new emotion" sounds like the tactile knowledge of what being alive now, thanks to science and space probes, means: sitting on a crowded planet that is moving very fast. In such a situation, Mooney's narrative suggests, everything that happens matters to everyone. But who can absorb, much less report, everything? The author sometimes reaches for cosmic consciousness and produces more comedy than insights: "On one of the fishing boats in the cove, a young downislander discovered he had the wrong-size replacement batteries for his transistor and flung them angrily into the water; they sank forty feet and nearly hit a horseshoe crab." The narrative eye that watches this descent is necessarily distracted from all the other goings-on in the world. Mooney sees the problem and plays with it entertainingly. He also convincingly portrays a kind of ambitious anxiety that can erupt at any time in the here and now. At 29, he may well be an early warning system for what fiction in the '80s will be like. —*By Paul Gray*

Ted Mooney
Balancing whimsey against pathos.

Wry Sense

A PENNY SAVED IS IMPOSSIBLE
by Ogden Nash
Little, Brown; 144 pages; $10.95

He began life as an advertising copywriter,
An occupation that has forced discipline on many a sloppywriter.
But he soon decided that writing a new kind of elliptical verse made wry sense,
So he took out a poetic license.
He bent lines and meters, provoking purists to curses,
Because when others broke the rules of prosody they produced vice and Ogden Nash produced verses.
For the Broadway musical One Touch of Venus *he wrote lyrics of consummate style*
(Book by S.J. Perelman, music by Kurt Weill);

Ogden Nash
Too much irony to be Byrony.

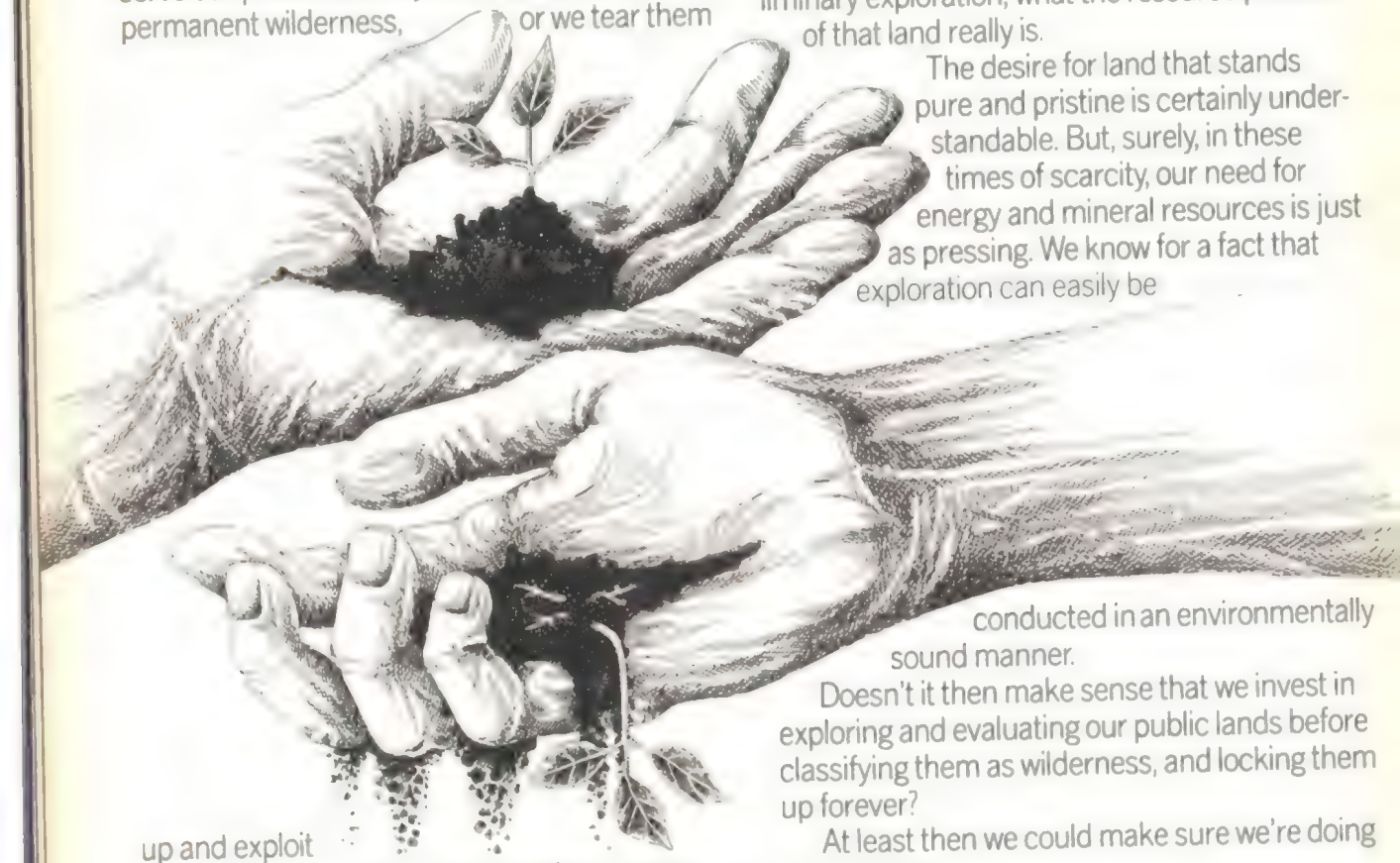
But he will be remembered for his antic rhyme—
Which, in the words of Archibald MacLeish, "defied the categories and altered the sensibility of his time."
The poet's concerns were not Shakespearean or Keatsish or Byrony;
He wrote about taxes, middle age, children, repairmen—topics that were too prosaic for poetry until they met his fine-wrought irony.
In A Penny Saved Is Impossible *the laughs continue,*
Although the reader may ask himself, "You read this once before, dinyou?"
Yes, he did, but these 60 works range over 40 years; and though some were out of print, all are delectable.
Even the titles are collectible:
i.e., "Kindly Unhitch That Star, Buddy," "Pride Goeth Before a Raise,"
"One from One Leaves Two," "A Clean Conscience Never Relaxes" and others beyond praise.
And who can forget those jingling aphorisms: "He who is ridden by a conscience/ Worries about a lot of nonscience;/ His fun and income soon quadruples," etc., but not ad infinitum.
For alas, from Ogden Nash (1902-1971) there will be no new item,
No fresh verbal raiment with which to costume us;
So let us raise a glass to this opus posthumous
And be glad for the sharp eye and omnipresent wit of the master evidenced by this book again.
We shall not like upon his look again.

—*By Stefan Kanfer*

Some want to keep our land unspoiled. Some want to explore it. We want to explore without spoiling.

There's a strange either-or proposition building up in this country.

It's one that says either we completely preserve our public lands by turning them into permanent wilderness, or we tear them up and exploit them to the fullest for their natural resources



We've got to believe there's an acceptable middle ground between these two extremes.

At least that's what we at Atlantic Richfield believe. And so do the many Americans who have invested with us

Because neither is really in the long-range interest of our country.

Look at the facts. Our public lands currently supply only 10% of our energy. Yet they actually contain about half of all our known domestic energy resources – vast amounts of coal, oil shale, tar sands, crude oil and natural gas.

And what are we doing about it?

In recent years, through legislation or administrative action, 130 million acres of the 760 million that the federal government owns have been completely withdrawn from exploration of any kind.

And there's more legislation pending which, if passed, will mean that, in total, as much as 71% of our public land could be set aside.

All without ever finding out first, through preliminary exploration, what the resource potential of that land really is.

The desire for land that stands pure and pristine is certainly understandable. But, surely, in these times of scarcity, our need for energy and mineral resources is just as pressing. We know for a fact that exploration can easily be conducted in an environmentally sound manner.

Doesn't it then make sense that we invest in exploring and evaluating our public lands before classifying them as wilderness, and locking them up forever?

At least then we could make sure we're doing the right thing.

To continue in the direction we're presently going could well be one of the most self-defeating steps our country has taken in this century.

Or so it seems to us at Atlantic Richfield.

There are no easy answers.

ARCO

Atlantic Richfield Company

Raise the Colors

THE MYSTERY OF OBERWALD
Directed by Michelangelo Antonioni
Screenplay by Michelangelo Antonioni and Tonino Guerra

Michelangelo Antonioni is a restless eminence. For more than 40 years he has been testing the limits of film narrative—as a young critic and documentarist, as a screenwriter in Italy's neorealist cinema, as the director of such parables of alienation as *L'Avventura* (1960) and *Eclipse* (1962). And while he expanded the viewer's understanding of the way stories can be told, he helped change the way the world is seen on film. In *Red Desert* (1964), he reflected the industrial and emotional decay of modern Ravenna in skies streaked like a sulfurous rainbow. In *Blow-Up* (1966), he painted London phone booths a deeper red, turned the grass a brighter green, to play against his protagonist's Day-Glo life. Now Antonioni has plumbed the resources of the new video technology and emerged with his most impressive experiment yet. *The Mystery of Oberwald* will be shown next week at the New York Film Festival; it is unlike anything you are apt to see on a TV or movie screen this year.

Jean Cocteau wrote *The Eagle Has Two Heads*—a chatty historical romance about a 19th century queen who falls in love with the man sent to assassinate her—for Edwige Feuillère and Jean Marais, who played it on the Paris stage in 1946 and in a film version in 1948. Tallulah Bankhead brought it to Broadway in 1947 (but without her original co-star, the young Marlon Brando). Thirty years later, Monica Vitti, whom Antonioni had made a star with *L'Avventura*, would call on her old mentor to collaborate on the project for RAI, the Italian television network. But Antonioni saw no challenge in restaging the play. Instead, he would shoot the production on videotape, and then transfer it to film—and, in the process, transform the story into a meditation on the incestuous links among the performing arts.

The movie begins at sundown in Oberwald. Soldiers patrol the castle grounds in search of Sebastian (Franco Branciaroli), the would-be assassin. The film stock looks grainy, murky, like a kinescope of some 1948 "Kraft Television Theater" production. Afterimages cast a split-second shadow on every movement. Then a sound is heard, a soldier aims his rifle, a shot is fired—and bright red flame spits out of the barrel. The sky is suddenly soiled pink with brooding clouds. Lightning flashes, and it is as unnaturally red as the gun blast. The forces of nature are gathering to announce the beginning of a thundering melodrama—one in which the technique provides the action.

Monica Vitti in *The Mystery of Oberwald*
Modernist queen of a storybook kingdom.

Vitti and Branciaroli, two handsome and appealing actors, follow Antonioni's cue. There is little passion in their voices, even when the queen and Sebastian overcome their initial distrust and become lovers to the death. No surprise here: Antonioni is the man who made aleatory music out of monotone in *L'Avventura*. But there is feeling aplenty conveyed through the vibrant orchestration of color. Each character is given his own "aura"—a kind of placenta of color that indicates his passion or humor. And every time the queen's mood changes, her surroundings change too, like obedient subjects. The queen recalls her dead husband, and a bouquet in her hands turns blood red at the memory. When the lovers walk through the woods, chlorophyll seeps into the leaves, and flowers segue from red to royal blue. Now the queen, revived in love, rides through the meadow, and the colors chorus riotously: her hair is rifle-fire red, the grass a Midas gold, the trees electric green, her horse an impossible white—and as it gallops by, its tail waves bright yellow in the new morning breeze of a storybook kingdom brought to life in the movies.

By the end of the film, Antonioni has reconciled the past and the present of three media. His video experiment looks like prehistoric television but manipulates tomorrow's techniques. His film is a fairly faithful adaptation, yet it departs radically from even the most modern movie strategies. The acting in this traditional theater piece is modishly austere and alienating. Because of this last contradiction—because *The Mystery of Oberwald* does not "work" on the accepted narrative level—the film may be scorned or, worse, dismissed. That would do this tireless innovator an injustice. Antonioni will be 70 next year, but he has suggested a bold new direction for the cinema—and created a work of dazzling ambition and achievement. —*By Richard Corliss*

Hold the Phone

RAGGEDY MAN
Directed by Jack Fisk
Screenplay by William D. Wittliff

What to make of this slice of American pie, this pastoral adagio, this memoir-nightmare? Writer Wittliff has drawn the film's setting and tone from his childhood in a small Texas town off the gulf. Nita Longley (Sissy Spacek), a divorced woman with two sons, works in an isolated house as the town's switchboard operator. She meets a fresh-faced sailor (handsomely played by Eric Roberts); there is a tender affair, another man (Sam Shepard), a pair of resentful layabouts, an abrupt slash of melodrama. Except for the denouement, *Raggedy Man* proceeds with the even pace of a journey over the Texas plains as seen through a child's wide eyes.

The film might have been made in the 1940s, when "regional" writers were charting new corners of the American subconscious and film makers like Frank Borzage and Clarence Brown were spring-cleaning old work clothes and folkways. If there is an intrusive touch of modernism, it comes from Shepard, the playwright whose *Buried Child* and *The West* tunnel into the dreams of the rural working class, and then explode them. As the haunted "raggedy man," Shepard lurks at the edges of the film's life, giving it texture and menace and meaning. But Spacek is the center. Until now a worldly child-woman, with the most infectious smile in movies, Spacek here proves she need not play gamines for the rest of her career. Jack Fisk, the most talented of the young American production designers (*Days of Heaven, Movie Movie*) and Spacek's husband, makes an assured directorial debut, trusting the material enough to present it without apology or irony. Now it's up to moviegoers to trust themselves and find *Raggedy Man*. —*R.C.*

Spacek and Roberts in *Raggedy Man*
Memoir-nightmare on the Texas plains.

Make the most of your body's total potential.

People come in all shapes, but each one of us has a perfect shape to aim for...a peak, a radiance that comes only with trim, taut good health. Achieve your own ideal—and learn how to maintain it—starting with the most complete, practical diet guidance you may have ever seen: *Wholesome Diet.* It's your introduction to the remarkable new LIBRARY OF HEALTH by the Editors and medical consultants of TIME-LIFE BOOKS.

This useful new book tells you everything about diet, from how to choose wholesome foods for your family to the pitfalls and benefits of each type of crash diet you may hear about...the tricky psychology of dieting...the vitamins, minerals and other nutritive values you get from almost 300 different foods, from alfalfa sprouts to zucchini. You learn how to take weight off and keep it off. How to eat well. Why exercise spurs appetite only in thin people, not overweight ones. And much more. Put this effective diet guidance on your table for 10 days' eye-opening reading, FREE. If you like what you see, you can go on in other volumes with the same clarity and authority including *Exercising for Fitness... Looking Good... The Prudent Use of Medicines.* Books all about you: How to take care of your skin ...how to plan a fitness program you can live with and enjoy...everything from side effects of drugs and how to do breast examinations confidently to the effective ways for coping with stress.

Start working on the ideal you! Mail the reply card today.

TIME LIFE BOOKS

Announcing LIBRARY OF HEALTH

© 1981 TIME-LIFE BOOKS INC.

Mail today!
TIME-LIFE BOOKS, Time & Life Bldg., Chicago, IL 60611

YES! I would like to examine *Wholesome Diet.* Please send it to me for 10 days' FREE examination and enter my subscription to the LIBRARY OF HEALTH. If I decide to keep *Wholesome Diet,* I will pay $11.95 ($12.95 in Canada) plus shipping and handling. I then will receive future volumes in the LIBRARY OF HEALTH series, shipped one volume at a time approximately every other month. Each is $11.95 ($12.95 in Canada) plus shipping and handling and comes on the same 10-day free-examination basis. There is no minimum number of books that I must buy, and I may cancel my subscription at any time simply by notifying you. If I do not choose to keep *Wholesome Diet,* I will return it within 10 days, my subscription for future volumes will be canceled, and I will be under no further obligation.

Name _____
(please print)

Address _____ Apt _____

City _____

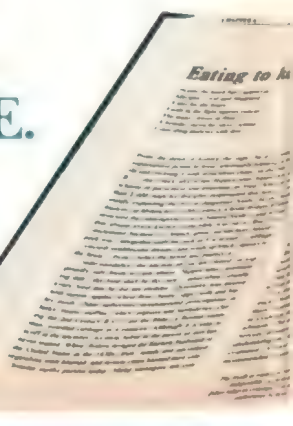
State or Province _____ Zip or Postal Code _____

All orders subject to credit approval. DBALM7

Try out this revolutionary new system. Accept

WHOLESOME DIET for 10 days FREE.

Authoritative. Complete. New from the editors and medical consultants of TIME-LIFE BOOKS



Each book: 8½" x 10¼".
Approximately 176 pages.
Hardcover. More than
120 illustrations, charts,
diagrams. Index.

* EVERYTHING FOR MOVING

Wherever you're going, whatever you're moving, U-Haul has everything you need. Trucks, trailers, packing boxes, hand trucks, furniture pads, hitches, tow bars. Everything from self-storage rooms to packing and loading help.

* TRIM LINE GAS SAVER FLEET

The rental fleet designed specifically for household moving. For the care and protection of your personal possessions. U-Haul moves families—not freight.

* SAVINGS IN MONEY, TIME & WORRY

U-Haul will match any competitor's rate, discount or guarantee.† And U-Haul has more than 7,000 Moving Centers and Dealers ready to support your move.

* SAFETY & SECURITY

Over 70 million family moves have been made the do-it-yourself way with U-Haul. Your safety and security is our primary objective.

* Plus WIN A MILLION Sweepstakes

Study this ad and discover why millions of families save millions with U-Haul products and services. And you could win a million dollars in the U-Haul "Win A Million" Sweepstakes! Official Entry Forms, rules and full details are available only at U-Haul Moving Centers and participating Dealers. See the White Pages for your nearest U-Haul location.

No purchase or rental required. Sweepstakes open to licensed drivers 18 years and over residing in the 48 conterminous United States. Limit one Entry Form per family per visit per week. Void wherever prohibited by law. Sweepstakes ends April 30, 1982. The odds of winning will depend upon the number of entries received. RESIDENTS OF OHIO ONLY may receive an Entry Form and details by submitting a separate, self-addressed, stamped envelope to: U-HAUL OHIO ENTRY FORMS, P.O. BOX 21503, PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85036. Requests must be received by March 31, 1982.

U-HAUL
MOVING & STORAGE

For Savings, Safety & Security. .U-Haul has it all.

†EXCEPT WHERE DISTRIBUTION FEES APPLY

Essay

Trying to Trim the U.S. Courts

"The Supreme Court," says James Bryce in *The American Commonwealth*, "feels the touch of public opinion." That is for sure, and there is a further truth: public opinion, or incensed parts of it, sometimes tries to reach the federal judiciary with a bit more than a touch—with a brisk left hook, say, or a fast right cross. One of those times is at hand: congressional leaders of the New Right are avidly mounting a serious assault on the power, authority and prestige of the federal courts.

Fully 20 bills now pending in Congress are designed to strip certain powers from the Supreme Court and lesser U.S. tribunals. The House is dealing with 16 of the measures, and four have been introduced in the Senate. Some of the measures, Senate Bill 158 among them, would prevent federal district and appellate courts from hearing cases involving any new state antiabortion statutes. Others, like Senate Bill 481 and House Bill 865, would limit the jurisdiction of the whole federal judiciary, the Supreme Court included, in school prayer cases.

Each of the bills proposes, in one way or another, to reduce or take away entirely the authority of the federal courts to act in cases involving desegregation, school prayers or abortion. Control of public policy in those areas would be left exclusively to state governments; individuals who believed that their rights were being violated in those areas could seek relief initially only in state courts. Given the multiplicity of states with diverse court systems, this procedure would raise the possibility of innumerable different constructions of the fundamental law of the land. Or, as Yale Law School Professor Robert Bork puts it, "you'd have 50 different constitutions running around out there, and I'm not sure even the conservatives would like the results."

What started the anticourt drive was conservative anger at federal court opinions that, among other things, legalized abortion, outlawed school prayer and supported the use of busing to achieve desegregation. Even before those rulings were handed down, conservative wrath had been aroused by the federal judiciary's strong protection of the rights of defendants and its uncertain approach to pornography. And conservatives have never been happy about the modern judiciary's penchant for the sort of activism that has prompted some federal judges, like Frank Johnson of Alabama, to take over the administration of prisons or busing programs as a way of guaranteeing constitutional rights. For this reason Sandra Day O'Connor doubtless pleased the New Right when, on the eve of her confirmation as the first woman on the Supreme Court, she declared that "the proper role of the judiciary is one of interpreting and applying the law, not making it." The legal theory underlying the New Right campaign is primitive in its simplicity: if federal courts interpret the law of the land in a way you do not like and you cannot muster the votes to amend the Constitution, then hamstring the courts. Says Utah's Senator Orrin Hatch, a cautious supporter of the New Right crusade: "The federal judiciary has been courting disaster by reading its own predilections in the Constitution."

What the New Right proposes instead, in its pending array of court-hobbling bills, is to substitute its own predilections. But the very notion of such legislation, says University of Southern California Law Professor Leonard Ratner, implies that "Congress could by statute profoundly alter the structure of American Government." If the bills were actually enacted, the traditional balance of power between the three branches of U.S. Government would be put thoroughly askew. The Supreme Court would be supreme no more. The "supremacy clause" of the Constitution, declaring that document to be the prevalent law of the land, would become a "nullity," in the word used by Tampa Lawyer Edward Cutler, who is lobbying against the New Right proposals for the American Bar Association. According to Wisconsin's Democratic Congressman William Kastenmeier, the enactment of even one measure that would cripple the Supreme Court in even one area would be a dangerous precedent—an invitation to Congress to turn itself into a sort of Supersupreme Court over the Supreme Court. Says Kastenmeier, a leading foe of the anticourt crusade: "If Congress can decide willy-nilly that the Supreme Court and the federal appellate courts have no appellate jurisdiction, then we have arrogated to ourselves considerable power."

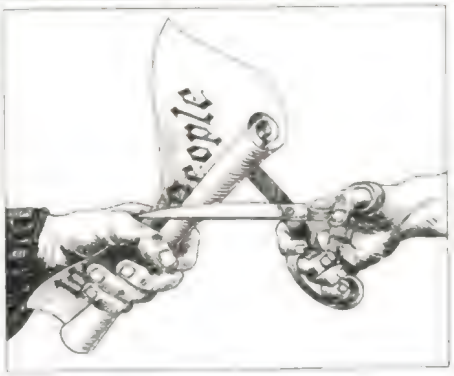
Congress, by then, would also have plunged the entire nation into a constitutional crisis of the first order. A head-butting confrontation between the Supreme Court and Congress would be unavoidable. And it would be impossible for either adversary in such a conflict to come out a clear winner. It would be simple, of course, for any federal court to take the first opportunity and knock down court-stripping acts themselves as unconstitutional. Yet such an action could only result in increased resentment among certain elements of the public and probably a heightened tendency toward further vindictiveness in the Congress. If the court-stripping acts actually stuck —as hard as that is to imagine—Congress might be pleased with itself for a moment but would have earned condemnation for having undermined the judicial independence that has been and remains indispensable to the workings of U.S.-style democracy.

Congress, however, already possesses some legitimate authority over federal courts. The Constitution, for instance, gives Congress the power to "constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court," and legal experts generally agree that the power to create implies the power to regulate and even abolish. Moreover, the Constitution awards the Supreme Court complete appellate jurisdiction, "with such exceptions, and under such regulations as Congress shall make." Experts disagree on the import of this little-exercised grant of authority. Some agree with Northwestern Law Professor Martin Redish that "if Congress truly desires, it can do almost anything it wants to the jurisdiction of the lower courts or the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court." Many other experts, among them Cardozo Law School Professor Telford Taylor, argue that Congress

Illustrations for TIME by Chris Peterson

Essay

cannot possess any power that would enable it to prevent the Supreme Court from doing its primary job of deciding constitutional issues. And the real purpose of the pending bills, says Taylor, is "to make it more difficult to vindicate constitutional rights." Summarizes TIME Supreme Court Correspondent Evan Thomas: "If there is any consensus among the scholars who have debated this issue, it is that Congress does have the power to remove issues from the lower courts but probably not the Supreme Court."



More than a century ago, to be sure, Congress curtailed the Supreme Court's jurisdiction over habeas corpus proceedings in a limited way, prohibiting it from hearing cases arising out of an 1867 act of Congress. In this, the high court acquiesced, ruling in 1869: "We are not at liberty to inquire into the motives of the legislature. We can only examine into its power under the Constitution; and the power to make exceptions to the appellate jurisdiction of this court is given by express words." This remains the sole case in which Congress successfully imposed "exceptions" on the high court. Only three years later, the court did not hesitate to strike down a congressional effort to limit its jurisdiction over cases involving property claims made by litigants who were pardoned after the Civil War. In that, the court said, Congress had exceeded its authority.

For the most part, Congress as a whole has always practiced self-restraint in dealing with the courts. Factions within Congress have over and over again tried to hobble or thwart the federal judiciary—liberals in the 1920s when the high court kept striking down their measures outlawing child labor, conservatives in the mid-century years when the Supreme Court struck down some state antisubversion laws. But the anticourt propositions of these and other factions were never enacted by the whole Congress.

History, then, offers some cause to hope that Capitol Hill will quickly squelch the 20 court-stripping bills before it. Unfortunately, there are also grounds for pessimism. There is, above all, the fact that Congress now is clearly more conservative than in 1979, when the Senate did pass a bill that would have taken away federal court jurisdiction over the issue of school prayer; the House killed the bill. Political observers suspect that the New Right can get at least some of its measures through the Senate again. But this time around it is less certain, given the new conservative atmosphere, that opponents could vote down the measures in the House. The issue will possibly be decided by the Administration; though it generally tilts to the conservative side of the so-called moral issues, the Administration has so far withheld forthright support of the anticourt campaign partly because of genuine doubts about its constitutionality and also out of fear of endangering the congressional consensus on economic issues.

It is all but a national custom for Americans of every philosophical shade to berate the federal courts, from the highest down, over decisions that cut against the popular grain. Conservative calls for the impeachment of activist Chief Justice Earl Warren were commonplace. But to allow anger at the courts to grow into political action that would disable them could prove extremely perilous. What needs to be remembered is why the federal courts so frequently go against the grain of popular sentiment. More often than not they are doing what they, alone among U.S. institutions, were designed to do: safeguarding the fundamental rights of the individual against the potentially tyrannical attitudes of the majority.

—By Frank Trippett

Milestones

MARRIED. Lorne Michaels, 36, former producer of TV's *Saturday Night Live;* and **Susan Forristal,** 30, a former fashion model; he for the second time, she for the first; in the garden of Michaels' summer home in Amagansett, N.Y. Present were Art Garfunkel (cantor), Paul Simon (best man) and ten bridesmaids, including the bride's five sisters, Model Cheryl Tiegs and Actress Lauren Hutton.

MARRIED. Mike Love, 40, lead singer for the Beach Boys; and **Catherine Linda Martinez,** 30, his girlfriend of eight months; he for the fourth time, she for the second; in Santa Barbara, Calif. The ceremony was performed by Disc Jockey Wolfman Jack, who was ordained by the Universal Life Church of Modesto, Calif., for the purpose.

DIED. Helen Humes, 68, torchy, mellow-voiced jazz singer who, after appearing with Count Basie from 1938 to 1942, went on to a solo career that spanned 40 years; of cancer; in Santa Monica, Calif. Humes, a rhythm-and-blues star with her 1945 hit *Be Baba Leba*, retired in 1967 but staged a comeback six years later, singing in the U.S. and Europe until illness forced her to quit last year.

DIED. Michael DiSalle, 73, Italian immigrants' son whose energy, humor and blunt honesty helped win him a national reputation after he became Democratic Mayor of Toledo in 1948, and who went on to become an effective governor of Ohio; of a heart attack; while vacationing in Italy. The New York City–born DiSalle headed the Office of Price Stabilization during the Korean War and was elected in 1958 to the first four-year gubernatorial term in Ohio's history. A lifelong liberal who once called capital punishment "barbaric," he was one of the first state Governors to support John F. Kennedy in 1960 and served as an honorary chairman of Senator Edward Kennedy's presidential campaign last year.

DIED. William Loeb, 75, splenetic, staunchly conservative publisher of the Manchester *Union Leader* and the *New Hampshire Sunday News* for three decades; of cancer; in Burlington, Mass. (*see* NATION).

DIED. Eugenio Montale, 84, stoic, reclusive Italian poet whose spare, often difficult verse, which he described as "an attack on life, with no illusions," won him the 1975 Nobel Prize for Literature; of heart disease; in Milan. Montale, who published his first volume of poetry, *Bones of the Cuttlefish*, in 1925, produced four more volumes over the next 50 years, supporting himself with jobs as a librarian and literary critic for Italian magazines and newspapers. A self-described "journalist," who regarded spiritual redemption as the only antidote to the tragic realities of life, he once explained that his poetry could not be "understood as a message but as an invitation to hope."

DIED. James S. Kemper, 94, tough, no-nonsense Chicago insurance executive and founder of the Kemper Group, one of the world's largest diversified insurance and financial organizations; in Chicago. Kemper, who began his career as a junior insurance clerk in his native Ohio, became manager of the Lumbermens Mutual Casualty Co. in 1912 and built it into a worldwide conglomerate with assets of more than $5 billion. An outspoken conservative and onetime treasurer of the Republican National Committee, Kemper was appointed U.S. Ambassador to Brazil in 1953 but resigned less than two years later after he was criticized for being too blunt and undiplomatic for the post.

If you assume a sedan's only function is to be functional, don't. Reason? The new Cutlass Supreme Sedan. Sure, it offers a standard V6 engine, room for six and both V6 and V8 diesel options. But, the functional side isn't its only side. There's a luxury side, too, starting with a roomy, comfortable interior. And a quiet side. The smooth ride and solid engineering see to that. But maybe the best side is the elegantly styled outside. Welcome news, we think, that good looks and good sense can still go hand in hand.

Cutlass Supreme Sedan.
Even today, there's still room to do it with style.

Oldsmobile

We've had one built for you.

Some Oldsmobiles are equipped with engines produced by other GM divisions, subsidiaries or affiliated companies worldwide. See your dealer for details.

Avoid The Morning Rush.

Holiday Inn® locations are closer to your business, and that means less time traveling ...more time for you.

Holiday Inn gives you the widest choice of the most popular locations. So you can choose the one that's closest to your business appointments. And the closer you are, the more time there'll be for you.

So whether your business is in the center city, the suburbs, at the airport or in small towns, you'll find us closer to where you want to be. And of course, every Holiday Inn hotel gives you our famous "no surprise"[sm] standards to take good care of you.

Our #1 People Pleasin' Locations and Standards[sm] are just some of the reasons we please more travelers than anybody else.

So the next time you travel let us be #1 in pleasing you.

Holiday Inn

In 1903, Mrs. Elmer Claiborne thought she could sneak a cigarette while her nearsighted husband was getting his glasses refitted.

Mr. Claiborne made a spectacle out of her

You've come a long way, baby.

VIRGINIA SLIMS *Lights*

In the crush-proof purse pack.

Fashions: Reiko

9 mg "tar," 0.8 mg nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC Method.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.